

UN NOUVEAU DIRECTEUR POUR LA REVUE DE QUMRÂN

UNE décennie après les premières découvertes des manuscrits de la mer Morte par les bergers Ta'amirés, l'Abbé Jean Carmignac fonda la *Revue de Qumrân*, en 1958 à Paris, afin de permettre une publication rapide des études sur ces nouveaux et importants documents et leur regroupement jusque là par trop dispersées dans une grande diversité de périodiques ; et cela pour le plus grand bénéfice de tous, auteurs et lecteurs, comme il l'écrivait dans la présentation de la nouvelle *Revue* consacrée à ce sujet. La *Revue de Qumrân* s'engageait à publier en six langues : latin, français, anglais, allemand, espagnol et italien pour faciliter l'accès à un plus grand nombre. Et en outre pour en rester à un coût modique, il en assurait à lui seul la direction et le secrétariat jusqu'à la veille de son départ en 1986. En fait, voulant consacrer ses dernières énergies à d'autres occupations et centre d'intérêts, il voulut arrêter cette tâche en 1975, avec le départ à la retraite de son éditeur littéraire, Monsieur Martinet, son correspondant aux Éditions Letouzey et Ané.

C'est alors que, en tant que son ancien élève engagé dans l'étude et l'édition des manuscrits du 'lot Jean Starcky', il me demanda expressément si j'accepterais de prendre la relève, et dans l'affirmative, d'assurer au moins un soutien effectif pour alléger sa lourde charge. Sur les conseils de plusieurs de mes anciens maîtres, j'acceptai alors d'assurer la relève pour continuer cette importante œuvre scientifique, engagement qui se traduisit en une collaboration comme directeur-adjoint. Comme première décision en fin 1975, je dus passer des Éditions Letouzey et Ané aux Éditions Gabalda et C^{ie} où elle se trouve depuis lors. Mais résidant à Jérusalem pour l'étude des manuscrits sur les originaux et assurer quelques cours à l'École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem, Jean Carmignac ne pouvait pas concevoir la direction de la *Revue* depuis l'étranger ; aussi continuait-il à en assurer le gros du travail jusqu'au fascicule 47 en 1986,

ayant confié, cinq ans auparavant, la « bibliographie et les Tables » à Florentino García Martínez à Groningen. Au début de l'année 1986, pressentant que le moment était venu de céder définitivement la main pour se concentrer à d'autres travaux qui lui tenaient à cœur, il s'était assuré du bon fonctionnement de la nouvelle équipe, partiellement en Europe. Et il s'en est lui-même expliqué pour les lecteurs dans sa note : « Un nouveau directeur et un nouveau secrétaire pour la Revue de Qumrân », *RQ* 47 (1986) 325-326.

Depuis ce temps-là et les premières années, l'informatique a complètement révolutionné les échanges 'postaux', et la direction de la *Revue* s'en est trouvé bien changée et largement facilitée. Après un travail combien efficace et exemplaire, il y a quelques années, Florentino García Martínez a arrêté la charge du secrétariat qui est passée sous la responsabilité de Corrado Martone lequel avait déjà pris en charge les « Tables » depuis le Tome XIX comme secrétaire-adjoint, voir « Secrétariat de la *Revue de Qumrân* », *RQ* 96 (2010) 515-516.

Depuis mon premier engagement comme directeur-adjoint en 1975 et le fascicule 33 qui ne parut qu'en 1977 aux Éditions Gabalda et C^{ie} et le fascicule 47 paru en 1986 comme directeur, la *Revue de Qumrân* arrive au fascicule 100 au deuxième semestre de 2012. Il est temps de passer, à mon tour, la responsabilité de la direction à des mains plus jeunes. Mon ancien étudiant Jean-Sébastien Rey qui est Maître de Conférences à l'Université de Lorraine, a accepté de prendre la relève comme directeur-adjoint pour les fascicules 99 et 100, et d'assumer la charge directoriale ensuite. Déjà un bon spécialiste reconnu des textes qumraniens et apparentés, sa compétence et son dynamisme garantissent l'avenir de la *Revue de Qumrân*. Je l'en remercie au nom de tous pour ce service dévoué. Avec le fascicule 101, ce sera désormais lui qui, avec son comité de rédaction, décidera de la ligne à suivre et présidera au destin de la *Revue de Qumrân*.

À tous les auteurs qui ont fait confiance à la *Revue de Qumrân* et qui en ont assuré, outre la grande qualité, une large audience ainsi que son rayonnement international en lui proposant leurs articles, j'exprime ma très cordiale reconnaissance. La *Revue de Qumrân* a été à leur service et elle continuera à l'être, j'en suis sûr, avec la nouvelle équipe à laquelle je souhaite que lui soit réservé un bon accueil. Vous n'hésitez pas à lui confier vos sujets de recherche pour le partage des connaissances.

Depuis la fondation de la *Revue de Qumrân* en 1958, ont vu le jour d'autres revues parallèles, comme *Dead Sea Discoveries*, en 1994, laquelle restreint ses publications à l'anglais, et *Meghillot* en 2003 qui en reste à l'hébreu moderne. Depuis l'origine, la *Revue de*

Qumrân n'a pas voulu se replier ni s'enfermer dans une seule langue moderne, elle a fait tout ce qui était possible pour rester ouverte à un plus grand nombre de lecteurs et d'auteurs, chacun pouvant s'exprimer dans des langues largement représentatives dans ce domaine de recherche ; en effet, dès le départ, les éditeurs des manuscrits de la mer Morte appartenaient à une équipe internationale et interconfessionnelle, et des savants d'horizons les plus divers se sont exprimés dans la *Revue de Qumrân*. Cet esprit d'ouverture est sa caractéristique propre au-delà des contingences économiques des maisons d'éditions ou de quelques autres considérations. En cela, la *Revue de Qumrân* a contribué et elle contribue au progrès de la recherche en « qumrânologie » et à d'autres domaines connexes. Elle se veut au service des auteurs dans la recherche d'une meilleure connaissance de la Communauté essénienne de Qumrân, de ses monuments et de ses documents écrits, de ses idées et de ses croyances, de sa foi et de ses espérances, bref de tout ce qui a contribué à façonner le terreau palestinien où prit naissance le Peuple de Dieu de la Nouvelle Alliance.

Émile PUECH

Directeur de la *Revue de Qumrân*
Jérusalem, le 5 juin 2012

REVUE DE QUMRAN 100 BY WAY OF AN INTRODUCTION

Issue number 100 is a major achievement for a journal and a debt of gratitude is owed to the one who made this possible.

Revue de Qumran has reached this goal mostly thanks to its editor-in-chief Émile Puech, who has decided to resign from this capacity following the publication of this issue, as mentioned in his note published above.

That is why we have asked the members of both the *Conseil Académique* and the *Conseil de Rédaction* of the Journal for a contribution in honor of Émile Puech, to thank him on behalf of scholars in the field for his nearly forty-year work for *Revue de Qumran*.

This volume does not aim to compete against, let alone replace, Émile's official Festschrift (*From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges en hommage à Émile Puech*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert Tigchelaar. [STDJ 61] Leiden: Brill, 2006). It is meant to be token of gratitude from a small group of friends and colleagues to celebrate Émile's work in and for *Revue de Qumran*.

The result is a volume containing articles by George J. Brooke (*Authority and the Authoritativeness of Scripture: Some Clues from the Dead Sea Scrolls*), Florentino García Martínez (*Parabiblical Literature from Qumran and the Canonical Process*), Corrado Martone (*Qumran Readings in Agreement with the Septuagint against the Masoretic Text. Part Three: 1 Samuel*), Jean Sébastien Rey (*Si 10,12-12,1: Nouvelle édition du fragment Adler [ENA 2536-2]*), Annette Steudel (*The Damascus Document [D] as a Rewriting of the Community Rule [S]*), Eibert Tigchelaar (*The Poetry of The Wiles of the Wicked Woman [4Q184]*) and Julio Trebolle (*Yahweh's Spirit of Deceit. Textual Variants that Make a Difference [1 Kgs 22]*), covering a wide range of interests on both "biblical" and non-"biblical" texts and their many implications

for a better understanding of Second Temple times, on which Émile has masterfully worked and contributed over the years—and most often in *Revue de Qumran*.

Even though the title of each contribution is a clear enough hint of the contribution's contents, we will not summarize it here so as not to spoil the reader's (and Émile's) surprise.

Annette STEUDEL
Georg-August-Universität
Göttingen

Corrado MARTONE
Università degli Studi di
Torino

Florentino GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ
Katholieke Universiteit
Leuven

Jean Sébastien REY
Université de Lorraine –
Metz

AUTHORITY AND THE AUTHORITATIVENESS OF SCRIPTURE: SOME CLUES FROM THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Summary

This essay suggests that the authority of texts has to be construed on the basis of at least three complementary facets of textual study and analysis. First, there is the text itself. By considering the six-part, triple-axis dynamic of compositions as indicated in actantial analysis this study identifies some of the features of any text that might be construed as authoritative: this might be suitably labelled as “actantial authority.” Second, there is the interdependence of author and audience, through which authority is encouraged and endorsed; this can be called “authorial and audience authority.” Third, there is the function of the text in different settings and contexts: authority might be discerned in everything contextual such as the artefactual data of the manuscript evidence, the possible effectiveness of the text as speech-act, and the much wider ideological frame of reference that makes a composition relevant for any particular group or community: this can be named as “acted authority.” Thus authority in texts, both scriptural and non-scriptural, is a polyphonous affair.

INTRODUCTION

WHAT is authority? (1) Amongst other things authority is “the power or right to enforce obedience; moral or legal supremacy; the right to command or give an ultimate decision; ... power to influence the conduct and actions of others; power over the opinions of others; authoritative opinion; intellectual influence; ...

(1) A preliminary version of this paper was given in September 2011 as the opening presentation at a symposium on “The Authoritativeness of Scripture” organized in Tallinn as part of the ongoing research cooperation between the Universities of Helsinki and Munich. I am especially grateful to Juha Pakkala for the invitation to join the symposium and to all the participants for the discussions that ensued there.

the quotation or book acknowledged, or alleged, to settle a question or give conclusive testimony; the author of an accepted statement; an expert in any question.” (2) There is enough in that dictionary definition that is readily recognisable for discussion of authority within the transmission of scriptural and other traditions in antiquity, but there is also enough breadth of definition to leave room for students of the scriptures, both Jewish and Christian to offer their own refinements and enhancements.

In several studies I have offered some ideas on the ways in which various scriptural texts have moved from being authoritative to being canonical. (3) In this paper, which is something of a thought experiment rather than a comprehensive proposal, I wish to reconsider some aspects of what the Jewish literature of the late Second Temple period, especially some of the Dead Sea Scrolls, can teach us about the emerging authority of some texts. This paper pays attention to pre-canonical authority, that is, authority that texts acquire or are assigned before they become part of a fixed list of authoritative texts in a more or less fixed form; I am not concerned strictly with canonical authority.

For the purposes of this essay I will group my suggestions under three headings, all of which take seriously the nature of the Jewish scriptures as literature, either oral or written or both, and which also

(2) William Little, H.W. Fowler, Jessie Collins, C.T. Onions, *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, reset with revised etymologies and addenda 1973), 134.

(3) George J. Brooke, “The Rewritten Law, Prophets and Psalms: Issues for Understanding the Text of the Bible,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. E.D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: The British Library; New Castle: Oak Knoll Press; Grand Haven: The Scriptorium Center for Christian Antiquities, 2002), 31–40; idem, “Between Authority and Canon: The Significance of Reworking the Bible for Understanding the Canonical Process,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran: Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15–17 January, 2002* (ed. E.G. Chazon, D. Dimant and R.A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 85–104; idem, “The Formation and Renewal of Scriptural Tradition,” in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (ed. C. Hempel and J.M. Lieu; JSJSup 111; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 39–59; idem, “‘Canon’ in the Light of the Qumran Scrolls,” in *The Canon of Scripture in Jewish and Christian Tradition/Le canon des Écritures dans les traditions juive et chrétienne* (ed. P.S. Alexander and J.-D. Kaestli; Publications de l’institut romand des sciences bibliques 4; Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2007), 81–98; idem, “Canonisation Processes of the Jewish Bible in the Light of the Qumran Scrolls,” in *For it is Written: Essays on the Function of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity* (ed. J. Dochhorn with M. Rosenau; Early Christianity in the Context of Antiquity 12; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2011), 13–35.

see some significant place for the use of some other early Jewish texts of more restricted use which do not feature now in Hebrew Bibles. First, I will consider briefly the authority that seems to inhere within a text as it is passed from one generation to another. I wish to call such authority “actantial authority,” since actantial structural analysis is an attempt to pay attention solely to the parts of a text and the dynamic interaction between the parts. I will attempt to demonstrate the accrual of authority in this respect by analysis of the composition known as *Miqṣat Ma’āseṣy Ha-Torah* (MMT).

Second, I will consider briefly the authority that seems to belong to or be created by the relationships, often mutual relationships, between the author or authors of texts and their audiences or readers. I will call this “authorial and audience authority.” I will try to illustrate how attention to these aspects of authority are reflected in an analysis of the *Temple Scroll*, especially the principal copy of it from Qumran’s Cave 11.

Third, I wish to consider a number of other factors that may contribute to a text acquiring authority at certain times and in certain places. Such factors can be associated in various ways with the way texts work or function in particular settings, the way they are speech-acts, so I will call this third kind of authority “acted authority.” I will illustrate some of these aspects by considering the problems surrounding the modern analysis of the varieties of collections of Psalms in manuscripts from the Qumran caves, notably 11QPs^a. As can be readily seen, all three kinds of authority contain characteristics that overlap with one another, but I am concerned to try to dismantle and analyse the category of authority in Jewish texts of the late Second Temple period before any attempt is made at synthesis.

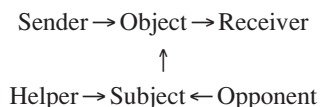
A further introductory comment is worthwhile. It is obvious that issues of diachronicity and synchronicity are also involved. For some texts it is the gradual accrual of authority over time that is significant. For other texts it is the synchronic textual or intertextual associations that are important and which enhance or create authority. Thus, it should be noted that over time texts can both develop and lose authority, and that at particular times or places, certain texts may have enhanced authority because of the way they emerge as a focus of concern and at other times such focus becomes marginal for various reasons.

I. ACTANTIAL AUTHORITY

The first category to be offered I am calling “actantial authority.” I want to pay attention to various features of texts as texts, as literary creations in themselves, though of course in the end such attention to

texts cannot be divorced from the roles of those who compiled them and those who read them. Nevertheless, this section of this paper gives priority to the text. Various kinds of actantial analysis were popular a generation or more ago amongst literary theorists, including those who approached the Bible as literature. (4) Although such analysis helped in many ways to disclose how texts are assembled and work with power for a reader or hearer, to my knowledge such power has often or usually been understood in largely abstract terms as “a deep system of values, sometimes termed *episteme*, which both governs and results from our ‘gaze’ (French: *regard*) upon life and the world.” (5) But I am concerned also here with concrete examples of texts that seem to have such power within them. For my purposes here I take it that the particular issue for structuralists was to see whether the internal dynamics of texts, the definition of their constituent parts and their interactions, could be sufficiently mapped as to allow the presentation of an ideal or formal grid of textuality, though such a grid could only be perceived in specific examples. It is noteworthy that the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and related Jewish literature of the late Second Temple period has largely avoided being treated through the lens of actantial analysis, so there is an opportunity for something novel here too.

The six-part scheme of actantial analysis developed by A. J. Greimas is probably familiar to all students of texts, not least students of biblical texts:



Within this scheme there are three axial dynamics. Commonly they are described as the axis of communication, as something is communicated within the text to somebody else (from sender to receiver), the axis of volition, as the subject facilitates the communication (subject to object),

(4) Amongst the large literature on this approach associated with the semiotics of Algirdas J. Greimas and Roland Barthes the following are convenient worked examples or summary descriptions with fulsome bibliographies of actantial analysis: Roland Barthes et al., *Structural Analysis and Biblical Exegesis: Interpretational Essays* (Pittsburgh Theological Monographs 3; Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1974); Daniel Patte, *What is Structural Exegesis?* (Guides to Biblical Scholarship; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976); Daniel Patte and Aline Patte, *Structural Exegesis: From Theory to Practice* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978).

(5) Patte and Patte, *Structural Exegesis: From Theory to Practice*, 5; reflecting on Michel Foucault’s analysis of what has power on people.

and the axis of power as helper and opponent struggle for control over the subject. (6) To my mind, each of these designated participants in a literary construct can be the instigator or conveyor of authority, as also can be the dynamic of the interactions taking place in each axis of the text's construction. (7) This is so, even though the authority conveyed by the opponent might most obviously be understood as negative authority, often what has to be resisted in some way by the textual dynamic, or more explicitly what the text is written against.

If we take a non-biblical text to work this analysis through, we might be able to see how such an approach might demonstrate how texts accrue authority. Given the supposed label of sender, I have wondered whether such analysis might be helpfully applied to the complex composition known as *Miqṣat Ma'aśey Ha-Torah* (MMT), a composition that has commonly been construed generically as a letter of some kind. Let us consider each actantial component in turn.

Let us begin with the opponent. At one level this is easy to identify as the "they" group in the text. The third person plural pronoun is used in MMT to identify or construct a group that is being written against, argued against. But such identification should not just be left in terms of the people who are written against, but should also include all that they are associated with, most notably particular misinterpretations of the Torah that the subject of the composition wishes to undermine. Identified in the third person, they are represented in the text as falling outside the dialogue that the "we" and "you" parties can carry on. The authority that their opposition to the subject of MMT conveys is constructed through their negative characterisation. They and their false teachings enhance the sense of identity and self-worth that the "we" and "you" groups are depicted as sharing, even if only potentially. In other words, in part the text of MMT is constructed to stereotype negatively the opponent, so that the subject successfully (and for our purposes authoritatively) facilitates the communication by defeating all those people and their ideas that get in the way or oppose it. (8)

The subject of the text would seem to be the "we" group. (9) In MMT the first person plural pronoun is used, not the singular, so

(6) See the careful summary in Patte, *What is Structural Exegesis?* 41–50.

(7) It needs to be noted that not all literary compositions are constructed with all six components explicitly named. Where one or more remains unnamed it is still worth asking why that component is not named, as that can considerably influence one's understanding of the dynamic of a text.

(8) In this respect it makes little difference whether the implied opponents are conceived as within the movement or outside it.

(9) In certain respects the Subject of a text corresponds with the implied author, but the two are not necessarily the same.

any authority that the construction of the subject in the text might carry through its successful defeat of the opponent is a plural or group authority, not that of a single implied author. However, just as the opponent is not just a constructed group of people but also the ideology they represent, so the “we” group probably has various characteristics that can enhance their portrayal and their authority in the text. Amongst such features might be the sense that is conveyed by the correct interpretation of the Law (the object) being mostly concerned with priestly or cultic matters. This might lead the audience to suppose that the subject has specialist knowledge and interests, an expertise in certain matters that marks them out as distinctive. In a similar way, the several mentions of right behaviour in Jerusalem might indicate to a hearer that the subject of the text has access to or acquaintance with those for whom Jerusalem signifies power, or even some control over access to things divine. The presentation of the “we” group indirectly or implicitly suggests opinion associated with sites of power, the very stuff of authority, though it is important to recall that we are concerned with seeing this as something inherent in the particular text rather than as an external system of values.

The helper in a text “can be personages but may also be qualities, information, knowledge, or inanimate objects.” (10) In MMT the helper does not seem to be a group of people, but rather a constructed combination of received tradition and self-authenticating skills that the “we” group knows all about and can put to good use. So, on the one hand the received tradition would seem to be a considerable number of scriptural texts to which mostly implicit appeal is made, though in the epilogue in particular something more summarily explicit is mentioned, both in terms of a grand meta-narrative (the history of the kings) and in terms of authoritative sources of some kind (perhaps the book of Moses; the books of the prophets; David; many generations). These form authoritative referential intertexts. (11) But the intertexts alone are not an adequate helper for the subject. All intertexts need a means of appropriation, and so one might argue that it is the supposed exegetical skills that the “we” group can apply which bring the authority of the intertexts alive. Such skills are themselves authoritative, since it is clear that the “we” group will construct their argument in ways that its authority, its ability to have a commanding influence, can be readily accepted. There are limits to what can and should be done with intertexts in any particular context or textual construction.

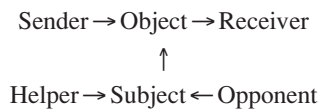
(10) Patte, *What is Structural Exegesis?* 43.

(11) See, e.g., Hanne von Weissenberg, *4QMMT: Reevaluating the Text, the Function, and the Meaning of the Epilogue* (STDJ 82; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 169–203.

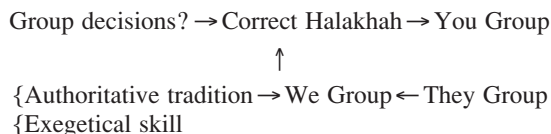
The Object is what is communicated. In MMT this would seem to be principally correct legal interpretation on a range of matters, most of which seem to be concerned with issues of cultic purity or priesthood or both. And the Receiver is equally easy to identify in the surface of the text. (12) It is the “you” of the text, either an individual or a group addressed collectively, that is being persuaded of the veracity of the legal interpretation contained in the text. Like the other groups mentioned in the text, the “you” should be considered first as a construct of the text and its identity amongst actual social or historical persons put to one side.

If Object and Receiver can be identified easily enough, the identification of the Sender is less readily defined. In many compositions the Sender is an abstract entity of some sort. In narratives it can be chance or fate. For me, it is possible to construe MMT textually at one level as representative of a set of communal decisions “concerning” which some decision has been reached. In the section of the composition in which the various legal interpretative decisions are listed, it seems to me that the list reads as if it was the re-presentation of a set of minutes of a communal meeting. Each item begins with “and concerning” (*w’l*). In 1 Corinthians Paul treats several items in turn, beginning each section with “and concerning”; his items are partially from written correspondence received and partly from verbal reports. Perhaps the Sender in an actantial analysis of MMT can be understood as the weight of communal decision that the “we” group identifies with and recognizes as authority, contributing its own formulation of such communal decision in its re-presentation of such things in the text of MMT.

If such is the case with the actantial aspects of MMT, let us briefly look at the scheme overall:



For MMT:



(12) In certain respects, the Receiver in a text corresponds with the implied audience or reader or the text, but the two need not always be the same.

Whether or not my identification of the actantial components of MMT is correct, my point in this first section of this paper is that a complex web of components within any text can be seen to generate the authority of a text. It is not just the content of a text as a whole, though that might be significant, but the various components, each of which carries some authoritative potential.

In addition, various comments could be made about the authority inherent in the axial dynamics of the analysis. Thus there are authoritative aspects to the axis of communication from Sender to Receiver as the receiver is supposed to come under the influence of the object that is sent. There are also authoritative aspects to the axis of volition: the activity of the Sender in facilitating the communication of the Object expresses a dynamic of potential transference. The axis of power discloses authority in the ways that Helpers are supposed to outweigh Opponents.

For MMT the story is all the more intriguing, because although the composition might be construed as some kind of letter sent at some point probably in the second century B.C.E., the text was copied through the first century B.C.E., indicating that it was not a flash in the pan for a single readership, but understood as of didactic value or authority or as having some other significance for subsequent generations as well. But that is really another matter because it moves the discussion towards the necessary consideration of implied and actual audiences, which is what I want to discuss in the next section of this paper. What I have attempted to suggest thus far is that texts have authority in the dynamics of their construction, especially when the elements of the construction have powerful referents. This is "actantial authority."

II. AUTHORIAL AND AUDIENCE AUTHORITY

The second category to be considered very briefly derives from putting the description of the authority of texts as described in the previous section of my paper in the context of the basic understanding of the five-part literary analysis that has become common in the reading of texts:

Author ↔ Implied Author ↔ Text ↔ Implied Audience ↔ Actual Audience. (13)

(13) The term "implied author" was coined by Wayne C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 431. Seymour Chatman, *Coming to Terms: The Rhetoric of Narrative in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), has proposed that as real authors convey things to real readers, an implied author is a feature of the internal dynamic of a text that inhibits the knowledge of the

The arrows in this diagrammatic schematisation deliberately go both ways, since I have long been convinced that as far as matters of authority go there is commonly a two-way process: authority is sometimes simply imposed on hearers or readers by authors and their texts (as with papal decrees), but generally it is also conferred through the assent of the hearer or reader. Thus for our own times, box office returns, viewing figures, and book sales indicate what audiences and readers wish to be influenced by, to receive as authoritative, to mark as authoritative, though often or usually audiences are influenced by a range of conscious and subconscious means in their choices.

I have suggested in the previous section that the reuse of the actantial scheme can assist in identifying some parts of the inherent authority of texts, but it is also necessary to look more explicitly at the contribution of the other four aspects of the standard literary scheme that takes a text from author to audience (and back again). (14)

To my mind the *Temple Scroll*, at least in the edition that it exists as 11QT^a, is an excellent example of a text that reflects all these items. First, it is clear that its author-redactor has assembled a number of traditions to make his composition with any number of significant intentions in mind, any one of which or any combination of which are also strategies for moving the text from composition to authoritative status for some group of hearers or readers. Who was this author or editor? We cannot know for certain. He seems to have had priestly concerns. Such concerns are discernible in any number of small factors, such as the arrangement of the building instructions for the Temple from the Holy of Holies outwards, a priestly perspective on life. (15) If priests

actual author and an implied reader stands outside the text as a construct which helps the actual reader engage with the text.

(14) This has been described in other ways through some aspects of discourse analysis. For texts of the Second Temple period I consider Hindy Najman's *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (JSJSup 77; Leiden: Brill, 2003) to be highly significant. See also my use and evaluation of part of her work in George J. Brooke, "Hypertextuality and the 'Parabiblical' Dead Sea Scrolls," in *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Culture and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* (ed. P.S. Alexander, A. Lange and R.J. Pillinger; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 43–64.

(15) Such a perspective is preserved in several compositions. I have written elsewhere on the difference between the Synoptic Gospels and the Gospel of John. With the exception of Luke's Jerusalem frame, the Synoptics for the most part work from Nazareth to Jerusalem, with the confrontation in the Temple at the end of the ministry of Jesus and access to the Holy of Holies suggested in the death scene. The Fourth Gospel places the "cleansing of the Temple" at the beginning of Jesus' ministry and has him visit Jerusalem on a cyclical basis, since that is how he dwells ("tabernacles") with those who believe (John 1:14); the divine glory that indwells the Holy of Holies is visible from the first sign onwards.

had authority in the community, at least for some people, then that authority seems to belong to the author-redactor of the text, as does the respect due to him on account of the final product that he created and pulled together. The conditional nature of the authority of priests is in fact demonstrated from within the composition itself as in the so-called “Law of the King” (cols LVI–LIX), the expansionist redactor of Deut 17:14–20 attempts to limit the power of the king by placing him under the authority of a council of thirty-six, twelve of whom are priests and twelve Levites. If only the king, any king, would agree to limit his authority in such a way.

Lawrence Schiffman has reconstructed an actual author through a consideration of his approach:

[W]e can now understand the approach of the author or redactor of the *Temple Scroll*. He seeks to assimilate extra-biblical traditions by the contention that his composition is a new, rewritten Torah that properly expresses the will of God as revealed in the original Pentateuch. He asserts that the correct meaning of the divine revelation at Sinai, apparently left vague in the Pentateuch, is to be found in the *Temple Scroll*. This means that he has no dual-Torah concept such as that of the Tannaim. Neither does he accept the notion of Qumran sectarian documents of a continuous, inspired revelation through biblical exegesis. He maintains only a one-time revelation at Sinai of a single Torah, the true contents of which are expressed in the document he authored and redacted. (16)

This conclusion offers an identification of the author through differentiating him from other contemporary groups and their practices of legal interpretation.

Second, as has often been pointed out, the implied author of the text is none other than God himself. Thus the implication in Schiffman’s description above is that the actual author is inclined to see God as the implied author of his text. Although this is not entirely consistently represented in the redaction of the constituent parts of the composition, there is enough use of the divine voice to encourage the hearer or reader to perceive God as the source of what is being said. (17) This is no trivial device, because it creates a massive “what if” for

(16) Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Temple Scroll 11QT^a (11QT^a),” in *Temple Scroll and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, 7; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011), 6.

(17) In 11QT^a XLIV, 5–6, the reference to “Aaron, your brother” indicates that Moses is in some way the receiver and transmitter of the divine speeches. Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, 41–69, prefers to read the Temple Scroll as part of Mosaic discourse for this very reason.

those receiving the text. That “what if” (namely “what if God really did say exactly this?”) is similar to the “what if” of many prophetic and apocalyptic texts in which the transmission of the divine voice is not initially, apparently, a matter of the consensus of hearers but the product of an individual who might claim a particular auditory or visionary experience as the source of text. (18) And although even the ancients could deconstruct such experience as voiced in the terms of tradition, nevertheless it had a freshness that was seductive. In both Jewish and Christian communities there has usually been resistance to the divine voice presented by an individual and apocalyptic texts in particular have been treated with suspicion and commonly marginalized, if not altogether rejected within scriptural canons. (19) The most successful prophetic texts are those both created and passed on by groups, rather than individuals. The voice of God in the *Temple Scroll* provides the composition with an apocalyptic character—it is the narration of an audition—and that very claim to authority may have compromised the text’s success as few, if any, beyond the community in which it was passed on recognized the particular divine tone of the text.

Third, there is the text itself: already carrying priestly and divine authority it seems to be presented as what took place at Sinai the second time Moses went up the mountain. Even in what survives, column II indicates a significant combination of motifs from Exodus 34 and Deuteronomy 7. Exodus 34 is one of several texts that also inform the opening of the book of *Jubilees*, inviting the hearer or reader to understand that text as part of what was given at Sinai the second time Moses went up the mountain—of course, however, in *Jubilees* it is not the voice of God himself, but that voice mediated by the dictating angel. We could undertake a full actantial analysis of the text of the *Temple Scroll*, so as to appreciate the various authoritative dynamics within the text itself. (20) However, this is not the place to

(18) The role of an individual’s experience in his or her construction of authority is barely touched on in this paper, but it is significant. For reflection on psychological and somatic constructs in texts see, e.g., Carol A. Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit, and the Indigenous Psychology of the *Hodayot*,” in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday* (ed. J. Penner, K.M. Penner and C. Wassen; STDJ 98; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 339–54.

(19) It is noticeable that there are no proper apocalypses amongst the sectarian compositions found in the Qumran caves; the sect seems to have shared a suspicion of individual claims to revelation, although its members were much influenced by earlier apocalypses such as the writings associated with Enoch.

(20) On the exegetical dynamics of the *Temple Scroll* see especially the collected studies by Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll* (STDJ 75; Leiden: Brill, 2008).

try to understand all the details of the composition since our concern is with issues surrounding the construction of authority. Najman has put it well: "Texts that 'rewrote the Bible,' like *Jubilees* and the Temple Scroll, responded to both the demand for interpretation and the demand for a demonstration of authority." (21)

Thus, fourthly, the *Temple Scroll* constructs its implied audience as Israel at the foot of Sinai. Critical analysis indicates to the modern reader that this implied audience is a literary fiction, but to the ancient hearer or reader it might have been accepted at face value. In the early years of research on the *Temple Scroll*, such a possibility led Hartmut Stegemann to propose that the composition of the *Temple Scroll* had to belong to the same period in which the Pentateuch itself, with a similar implied audience, was coming into being and so he dated the composition to the fourth century B.C.E. at the latest. (22) There was no logical necessity for so doing, since the book of *Jubilees* for one has a similar implied audience agenda and is widely accepted as a phenomenon of the second century B.C.E. In fact both compositions, and possibly others, such as the so-called *Reworked Pentateuch* (or Torah), probably belong in the same period and might indicate that the issue of the authority of Torah traditions was an especially live issue, a hot topic, in the second and third quarters of the second century B.C.E. The issue for authority in terms of the implied reader or hearer seems to concern the way actual readers or hearers might have been encouraged to identify with Israel through the literary construction of Israel in the redacted text.

The fifth element in the construction of the authority of the *Temple Scroll* is its actual audience. That actual audience can be considered both in terms of first hearers and readers, but also in terms of those who might have heard and read it at subsequent times. The first hearers and readers probably belonged in the second century amongst circles similar to those responsible for the book of *Jubilees*. Indeed, from a literary perspective the way in which *Jubilees* seems to cover material from Genesis 1 to Exodus 19 (or thereabouts) and the *Temple Scroll* covers matters from Exodus 34 to Deuteronomy 23 could be construed as a construction of the Torah as a duoteuch, (23) a work

(21) Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, 45.

(22) See Hartmut Stegemann, "The Origins of the Temple Scroll," in *IOSOT Congress Volume Jerusalem* (VTSup 40; Leiden: Brill, 1988), 235–56; idem, "The Literary Composition of the Temple Scroll and Its Status at Qumran," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll (Manchester, December 1987)* (ed. G.J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 123–48.

(23) As argued by George J. Brooke, "The Temple Scroll: A Law unto Itself?" in *Law and Religion: Essays on the Place of the Law in Israel and Early Christianity* (ed. B. Lindars; Cambridge: James Clarke, 1988), 34–43.

of just two parts, aimed at a group or groups who were in need of authoritative versions of the Torah that could justify their particular chronological readings of world history, their calendrical practices, and their priestly perspective on the Law. The later users of the composition might be inferred from the fact that 11QT^a was actually copied approximately in the last third of the first century B.C.E.; perhaps it was copied in an attempt to influence the architects responsible for Herod's building plan, possibly even with partial success. (24) Through preservation and copying for various reasons at various times, the actual and intended audiences of the *Temple Scroll* conferred authority on the text; they wanted to indicate that they were happy to be influenced by the composition's agenda and they wanted to influence others to subscribe to its authority similarly.

I hope that in this section of the paper I have been able to suggest that alongside the internal (actantial) dynamics of a text, any text's authority is also a construct of the interplay that runs through from author or editor to audience or readership and back again:

Author ↔ Implied Author ↔ Text ↔ Implied Audience ↔ Actual Audience.

Furthermore, it is in being reworked or revised over time and heard or read by various audiences in different periods that texts acquire or enhance their authority, so that this fivefold flow chart has both synchronic and diachronic aspects to it.

III. ACTED AUTHORITY

In this third principal part of my presentation I wish to suggest that there are several other factors that contribute to the way in which some texts within believing communities acquire or project authority. This section pays attention briefly to the function of texts in various ways. To my mind, put simply, there are at least three aspects to function. Firstly, all texts exist in particular contexts or settings, (25) where secondly they do or do not achieve things as speech-acts, (26) because

(24) See Johan Maier, "The Architectural History of the Temple in Jerusalem in the Light of the Temple Scroll," in *Temple Scroll Studies*, 23–66.

(25) This has long been the territory of the form critics who have constantly reminded scholars of the importance of *Sitz im Leben* in both the production and transmission of texts.

(26) The use of the term "speech act" is directly dependent on the description of performative utterances initiated by J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (ed. J. O. Urmson; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), in terms of locutionary acts, illocutionary acts and perlocutionary acts. Illocutionary speech acts in particular were further analysed by John Searle, *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*

thirdly both author and audience might seemingly share an ideological framework. (27)

One aspect that can be associated with particular contexts and settings for a composition concerns the choices that are made by scribes or purchasers or patrons of texts when a composition is actually written out. Compositions don't exist apart from their manuscript copies. Although scholars of the Hebrew Bible have to make many assumptions about how the texts of the biblical books were copied from generation to generation, students of the Dead Sea Scrolls have come to appreciate the contribution that actual manuscript evidence can provide for the evaluation of any text or composition, so much so that often compositions are confused with the manuscript they happen to be presented in. For the Psalms this is especially intriguing, since the various manuscript copies of the Books of Psalms or of part of the Psalter exist in many and varied forms. That variety swiftly suggests that it is inadequate merely to count the number of manuscripts as if that corresponded to the probable number of copies of the Psalms in the collection. For example, at least one manuscript (4QPs^g) seems to have contained only the acrostic celebration of the Torah, Psalm 119, and that laid out on a small pocket-sized manuscript ruled with just eight lines. On the other hand the 11QPs^a scroll, with its contents from the last two books of the Psalter supplemented with other compositions, is penned attractively on a manuscript with columns of an average height and width. Some Psalms manuscripts have the Psalms laid out stichometrically (4QPs^b), whilst others have the Psalms in continuous running text. Why? What does such artefactual and scribal practices indicate about the varying uses and thence the varying degrees of authority assigned to any manuscript? Should we even be talking about the degrees of authority of individual manuscript copies of a text?

Another comment on the problems surrounding the scribal transmission of scriptural compositions also needs to be made. When one looks at the variety of forms the various scriptural manuscripts take as they are copied and transmitted, it is easy to note that they appear in many different shapes and sizes. Emanuel Tov's description of "de luxe" manuscript copies of texts possibly has significant implications when it is noticed that most of the compositions copied on

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969). The philosophical discussion has developed further in many directions since those seminal works.

(27) Here I make no claims to any particular philosophical pedigree, but I have in mind collective values that some might inscribe as social capital; see, e.g., Robert Putnam and Lewis M. Feldstein, *Better Together: Restoring the American Community* (New York/London: Simon and Schuster, 2004).

such manuscripts are scriptural works later found as canonical. (28) However, it would be wrong, in my opinion, to think that only those manuscripts which might be labelled “de luxe” merit attention as demonstrating authority from their physical presentation. Rather, given the way that certainly in the late Second Temple period the Torah and Former and Latter Prophets are seen as authoritative, as well as most of the Writings, so the physical dimensions of a manuscript form might well be connected with particular functions. The large, so-called “de luxe” manuscript forms could well be for presentation and use in a public forum; but smaller copies of the same compositions, presumably understood as having some kind of authority, could also be in use in other ways, perhaps in study sessions or in private prayer. Artefactual evidence assists in our understanding of “acted authority,” but care should be taken not to misconstrue the evidence.

In addition there is a problem. The modern discussion of scriptural texts from a text-critical or scribal perspective has often, so it seems to me, forgotten this aspect of what texts are. Some seem tempted to describe the growth and transmission of scriptural texts as if they exist in some kind of ideal vacuum apart from any particular setting. Emanuel Tov has even insisted that in the Temple there was only ever one authoritative form of the text of any particular scriptural book, as if the latest draft of a text should always be understood as that which carried sole authority. But in the last generation, the one thing that most students of “Rewritten Bible” agree upon is that the rewriting is not intended to replace the form of the text being rewritten, even if the rewritten form is also presented as in some way authoritative. There can be multiple authoritative forms of a composition, even a scriptural composition.

Artefactual manuscript data might be highly significant for how a text’s authority should be construed. The detailed presentation of the text might also be significant. For example, the debate still continues as to whether the use of paleo-Hebrew for the divine name, especially the tetragrammaton, in some manuscripts of the Psalms (including 11QPs^a) is an indicator of the particular authority of that manuscript form of the text, or whether such indicates that the manuscript was for more popular use and so the divine name was merely being protected from being pronounced inappropriately. Whatever the case, it seems that scribal practices were adjusted, depending upon what context any particular manuscript might be used in. It is surely

(28) Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 125–29.

the case that other aspects of setting and context require consideration in relation to the issue of authority and its construction.

In considering in second place the function of texts as speech-acts in relation to authority a wide range of issues could be raised. At this point I wish simply to illustrate the necessity for this aspect of texts to be considered with scholarly self-awareness. On the one hand, some particular manuscript form of a text might reflect its authority in a highly particular way. I have mentioned that at least one manuscript (4QPs^g) seems to have contained only the acrostic celebration of the Torah, Psalm 119, and that laid out on a manuscript ruled with just eight lines. Was this some form of amulet? It is widely acknowledged that alphabets commonly had magical properties, even for Jews. (29) Did the recitation of Psalm 119 from this particular excerpted manuscript with its eight-line form enhance the protective spell through a speech-act that cast the one reciting the text as possessed by the Torah through praise? On the other hand, some particular manuscript form might indicate just the reverse. Does the list of the so-called Compositions of David (11QPs^a XXVII, 2–11) as a prose insert in 11QPs^a suggest that that manuscript was never intended for recitation, but merely as a repository of various Psalm texts? Indeed, several scholars have indicated that they do not consider 11QPs^a an authoritative version of the Psalms because it was probably produced for liturgical purposes; (30) such an assertion has always seemed odd to me, since I consider that the liturgical use of a text should more probably be construed as an endorsement of a text's authority than the opposite. (31)

Now in fact that last example of David's Compositions allows me to move to the third point concerning what I am calling "acted authority," namely the sharing of ideological frames of reference and the constructions of authority that that allows. In the prose section of 11QPs^a the numbers of Psalms are listed precisely, including three hundred and sixty-four for the daily offering. From such enumeration the ideological perspective of the schematic solar year is affirmed and

(29) See some of the discussion in George J. Brooke, "4Q341: An Exercise for Spelling and for Spells?" in *Writing and Ancient Near Eastern Society: Papers in Honour of Alan R. Millard* (ed. P. Bienowski, C.B. Mee and E.A. Slater; LHBOTS 426; London: T & T Clark International, 2005), 271–82.

(30) See the comments on liturgical texts by Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 3rd edn revised and expanded, 2012), 320–21.

(31) I have said a little more about this in George J. Brooke, "Canonisation Processes of the Jewish Bible in the Light of the Qumran Scrolls," 22–35, where I have tried to show how various settings enable textual authority to emerge, whether those settings are polemical, educational, or liturgical.

indeed it becomes possible to read the whole scroll as containing some of the Psalms that might have been used as part of such a schematic calendar (not unlike the quarter year represented by the thirteen *Sabbaths of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*). Ideological criticism has long disclosed that texts are usually constructed for manipulative purposes of one sort or another, even if such manipulation is the endorsement or confirmation of a particular perspective on the world already acknowledged by an audience. (32) It is important for scholars to consider the wider frame of reference for the function of a text when considering issues of a composition's authority.

CONCLUSION

I have tried to suggest in this essay that the authority of texts has to be construed on the basis of at least three complementary facets of textual study and analysis. First, there is the text itself. By considering the six-part, triple-axis dynamic of compositions as indicated in actantial analysis I have tried to identify some of the features of any text's self-presentation that might be construed as authoritative: "actantial authority." Second, there is the mutual flow chart from author to audience and back again, through which authority is encouraged and endorsed; the authoritative elements of the text itself are a full and central part of such mutual endorsement: "authorial and audience authority." Third, there is the function of the text in different settings and contexts: how a composition's authority is understood might be discerned in everything such as the artefactual data of the manuscript evidence, the possible effectiveness of the text as speech-act, and the much wider ideological frame of reference that makes a composition relevant for any particular group or community: "acted authority." Authority in texts is a polyphonous affair as this analysis of some aspects of the scrolls from the Qumran caves has attempted to clarify.

George J. BROOKE

(32) The most profound application of various aspects of ideological criticism to the Dead Sea Scrolls can be found in Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

PARABIBLICAL LITERATURE FROM QUMRAN AND THE CANONICAL PROCESS

Summary

After clarifying how the author understands the terms “parabiblical” literature (namely, as referring to all compositions of the collections of Qumran, except those which later will be incorporated in Tanak) and “canonical process” (that is, as a development not yet completed in which “canonical” is understood as authoritative or normative), this article shows what books were considered authoritative or normative within the collection, presenting four of the authority conferring strategies used for this purpose: Divine authority, rewriting, interpretation, and “the voice of the Teacher.”

The essay’s conclusion is that at this time of development in the “canonical process,” all the books which would later form the Torah, or the five books of Moses, were clearly recognized as authoritative and normative (and thus “canonical”), and that there was a second group of authoritative writings referred to as “the Prophets.” This group of writings, however, is not identical with the Nebi’im of Tanak, since it also included Daniel and the Psalms.

The essay also concludes that other books, as well as the core “sectarian” compositions, were considered authoritative and normative (and thus “canonical”).

IN the meeting on “Canonical Processes and the Development of Noncanonical Traditions,” (1) Professor Jörg Frey defined the topic of my paper as: “The issue of canonicity and the growth of

(1) This is the annotated text of a lecture given at the Summer School of the University of Fribourg, organized by Prof. Jörg Frey at Einsiedeln on 25-27 June 2012. As such, the lecture certainly overlaps with several articles that I have recently published. Nevertheless, I think it gives a good overview not only of the evolution of my thinking on the topic, but of the insight we can get when we look at the Qumran manuscripts without the problematic labels we are used to: “biblical-non biblical” and “sectarian-non sectarian.” I want to thank the participants to the seminar, particularly Profs. Frey,

parabiblical literature from the Qumran perspective.” As I understand it, my task is to explain the relationship of the so-called “parabiblical” (or parascriptural) (2) literature found in the eleven caves near Qumran to the known “biblical texts” (or scriptures) at a moment when the canonical process was not yet completed.

But before addressing this topic directly, let me explain how I understand the terms of the title of my lecture:

First: From the perspective of Qumran, “canonicity” is not an issue at all if we understand “canonicity” as referring to the process at the end of which we have an accepted (fixed) number of books and an accepted (fixed) form of the text of each book, whose collection forms “the Bible.” In fact, our idea of “the Bible” assumes that the canonization process was completed and accepted as authoritative by a certain religious group. However, the collection of manuscripts found at Qumran shows that the canonization process was not yet complete, since it is easy to demonstrate that neither of these two fundamental assumptions are present there. (3) “Canon,” according to Ulrich’s definition, includes three aspects: it represents a reflexive judgment, it denotes a closed list and it concerns biblical books. (4) As a reflexive judgment, canon represents a decision by which a communal and hence official agreement is reached that certain books are binding for a community. As a consequence, it denotes a closed list which specifies which books are included or excluded. And since we

Najman, and Schmid, for their acute remarks after the lecture, and to Prof. Najman and her student Sonja Anderson for polishing my English. I have kept the style of the oral presentation, adding only the basic references.

It is a pleasure to dedicate this contribution to Emile Puech (even if it is not in French), an old friend since the days in Jerusalem, with whom I have collaborated editing the *Revue de Qumran* from issue 47 (1986) through issue 96 (2010), after having collaborated with the late Jean Carmignac since the issue 40 (1981).

(2) On the problematic nature of the words, see below and in more detail F. García Martínez – M. Vervenne, “Ancient Interpretation of Jewish Scripture in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in A. Piquer Otero and P. Torijano Morales (eds.), *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls: Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera: Florilegium Complutensis* (JSJS 157; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 83-97.

(3) See F. García Martínez, “Rethinking the Bible: Sixty Years of Dead Sea Scrolls Research and Beyond,” in M. Popović (ed.), *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (JSJS 14; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 19-36.

(4) E. Ulrich, “The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible,” in M. Fishbane and E. Tov with the assistance of W.W. Fields (eds.), “*Sha’arei Talmon*”: *Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns, 1992), 267–291, reprinted in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 51–78.

do not find at Qumran any indication of a closed list of books included or excluded, we can confidently say that from the Qumran perspective the idea of “the Bible” is a complete anachronism. (5) Consequently, it is clearly an anachronism to speak of “biblical” or “parabilical” literature at Qumran. But this is not really important insofar as we all know about what we are speaking.

However, we can also understand “canonical” in another meaning, as referring to authoritative writings that are normative for a certain group, and “canonical process” as referring to the developments which led to the later agreements that determined the content of the different Bibles: Jewish, Samaritan, Christian (Orthodox, Ethiopian, Catholic or Protestant). (6) And since at Qumran we are in an exclusively Jewish context, the canonical process in question is the one which led to the formation of Tanak or the Jewish Bible we all know. And for understanding these developments, the collection of manuscripts found in the eleven caves in or near Qumran is fundamental, since these manuscripts give us a unique view of the process *before it was completed*. As we will see, the manuscript collection from Qumran, when compared with other collections from the Desert of Judah like Murabba‘at or Nahal Hever which practically correspond to the later Tanak, is clearly anterior to the “Great Divide,” as it is called by Shemaryahu Talmon. (7) At Qumran there were of course texts that were accepted as authoritative by the Qumran group, and this authority appears in the way they are used, quoted, interpreted or rewritten in other compositions. However, these authoritative texts were not identical with, nor limited to, those which we later find in the Jewish or in the Christian Bible. (8) Many of these authoritative texts were present in very different textual forms (short, long, revised, reworked, abstracted, versions) and even in very different editions. This proves, as Ulrich emphasized, that what was considered authoritative was the book itself, not the concrete textual form of the book,

(5) Nowadays this is a truism. See F. García Martínez, “Rethinking the Bible,” 19–36.

(6) See Julio Trebolle Barrera, *La Biblia judía y la Biblia cristiana: Introducción a la historia de la Biblia* (Trotta: Madrid, 1993), translated as *The Jewish and the Christian Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

(7) Shemaryahu Talmon, “The Crystallization of the ‘Canon of Hebrew Scriptures’ in the Light of Biblical Scrolls from Qumran,” in E.D. Herbert and E. Tov (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (London-New Castle: The British Library-Oak Knoll, 2000), 5–20, p.14.

(8) See F. García Martínez, “I testi qumranici testimoni di Scritture autorevoli,” in G.-L. Prato (ed.), *Ricerche Storico Bibliche*, Convegno ABI 2009, (Bologna: Dehoniane, 2011), 17–33.

since all these forms and editions were kept harmoniously together in the same library and, to judge from the interpretations, were used indiscriminately. (9)

Second: I also need to specify what I mean by “parabiblical texts.” This term usually refers to the second of the three categories according to which the texts from Cave 1 were divided: (1) biblical or canonical; (2) apocryphal and/or pseudepigraphal; and (3) sectarian or Essene. (10) This would restrict my inquiry to the problematic category of “apocryphal and/or pseudepigraphal,” which was replaced later by the category of “parabiblical,” under which heading several *DJD* volumes were published. (11) But there are many more “parabiblical texts” than those published under these heading. So, for example, the third volume of the *Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, (12) which basically follows the listing by A. Lange and U. Mittmann-Richert, (13) includes also the *Genesis Apocryphon*, *Jubilees*, the *Temple Scroll*, the *Aramaic Levi Document*, the *Books of Enoch*, and a whole series of Testaments, in addition to the compositions published as “parabiblical” in *DJD*. Eibert Tigchelaar has categorized them in two main groups according to their relationship to Scripture: (1) interpretative rewritings of earlier scriptures in the form of “Rewritten Scripture,” paraphrase, or retelling of either entire books, or sections of books, or even as a pastiche of different passages, sometimes with expansions based on older traditions or on the author’s own interpretation; and (2) new compositions that are not based on earlier scripture but are attributed, or closely related, to scriptural figures. Both categories include texts both in Hebrew and in Aramaic, both are related in a way or another to the Jewish Scriptures, and both are considered as a form of interpretation of the Jewish Scripture. (14)

(9) See Eugene Ulrich, “The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures at Qumran,” in E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam (eds.), *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 77; reprinted in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 17–33.

(10) “Ouvrages canoniques, ouvrages non canoniques et ouvrages de la bibliothèque essénienne,” *DJD* 1, 46–47.

(11) *DJD* 13, *DJD* 19, *DJD* 22 and *DJD* 30.

(12) *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader. Volume 3: Parabiblical Texts*. Edited by Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov. With the assistance of Carli Anderson (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

(13) On *DJD* 39, 115–164

(14) E. Tigchelaar, “Dead Sea Scrolls,” in John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow (eds.), *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010), 163–180.

But I understand “parabiblical texts” in a much broader way, as referring to all manuscripts which are not “biblical,” including the so-called “sectarian scrolls,” for the following reasons:—because those manuscripts which have preserved the compositions authored by the group or groups which put together the collection (the core “sectarian” texts: *Damascus Document*, *Serek*, *Hodayot*, *Pesharim*,) are themselves basically interpretations of Jewish Scripture;—because at Qumran, contrary to the later rabbinical writings which distinguished canonical (for example Mishnah) and inspired writings (biblical books), they believed that prophecy had not ceased and that revelation continued in the present history of the group;—and, finally, because these texts contribute decisively to our understanding of the developing “canonical process” since they employ the same strategies in order to invest their own compositions with the same authoritative status of the other compositions their authors clearly recognized as authoritative (“Moses and the Prophets,” but also compositions like *Jubilees*, the *Temple Scroll*, the *Apocryphon of Joshua* of the Aramaic *Levi Document*).

With the terms thus clarified, I can now address the core of the topic.

When looking at the collection as a whole it appears clearly that the group who collected the manuscripts accepted some “biblical” writings (books which later became part of the Tanak) as authoritative, and in this sense we can say they considered them as “canonical,” but at the same time accepted as equally authoritative other writings which later would not become part of the Tanak.

The well-known example of *4QTestimonia* (15) (4Q175) will clarify my point. This manuscript contains a collection of four quotations without further commentary or explanation, though each quotation is clearly marked, both by three blank spaces and by marginal marks after each quote. (16) The first quotation (at lines 1–8) is taken from Exodus 20:18b according to the Samaritan tradition. The second quote

(15) Edited by J.M. Allegro in *DJD* 5, 57–60, pl. XXI.

(16) On this scribe, see E. Tigchelaar, “In Search of the Scribe of 1QS,” in Sh.M. Paul, R.A. Kraft, L.H. Schiffman and W.W. Fields (eds.), *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (SVT 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 439–452. The manuscript has been very intensively studied. For a select bibliography, see A. Steudel, “Testimonia,” in L.H. Schiffman and J. VanderKam (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Oxford, 2000), 936–938, to which should be added the new edition by F.M. Cross in *Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume 6B* (The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project 6B; Tübingen-Louisville: Mohr-Westminster John Knox, 2002), 308–327.

(at lines 9–13) is taken from Numbers 24:15–17 in a textual form similar to the one preserved in the masoretic text, but with several differences. The third quote (at lines 14–20) is taken from Deuteronomy 33:8–11 and also included some variants from the masoretic text. But the fourth quote (at lines 21–30) is taken from a composition that was totally unknown until it was discovered in two (4Q378–379) Qumran manuscripts, published under the name of *4QApocryphon of Joshua*, (17) a composition that is a narrative reworking of the biblical Book of Joshua, interspersed with prayers and discourses, most of them pronounced by Joshua, such as the curse of Jericho, quoted from Joshua 6:26. (18)

We can logically conclude that these quotations, which are all set at the same level, with the same introductory formulae, were considered as providing proof from authoritative writings of the ideas of the collector. They can thus tell us something about the shape of the authoritative writings at that time. As said, these authoritative sources are:—an expanded and harmonised version of Exodus, attested at Qumran in several scrolls, (19) which later came to be the “Bible” for the Samaritans, and considered by Tov as closely related to the “rewritten Bible compositions”; (20)—two slightly modified versions of Numbers and Deuteronomy, two books which later become part of the Tanak;—and a composition completely unknown before, very similar to other compositions found at Qumran that are usually classified as “rewritten Scripture,” but which is considered here as authoritative as the other three writings. Thus the authoritative Scriptures of Qumran were clearly not identical with the books of Tanak, but rather included other compositions.

The criteria used by the scholars for recognizing the authoritativeness of a composition within the collection are of various kinds, not all of them equally convincing (the number of copies is arbitrary, since we do not have the original collection, and the uses of Paleohebrew

(17) Edited by C.A. Newsom in *DJD* 22, 237–288, pl. XVII–XXV. As she notes, other manuscripts have been suggested as possible examples of the same composition, but there is no conclusive proof.

(18) The latest studies of the quote known to me are D.C. Mitchell, “The Fourth Deliverer: A Josephite Messiah in *4QTestimonia*,” *Biblica* 86 (2005): 545–553 and the chapter, “The Succession of High Priests: John Hyrcanus and his Sons in Peshar to Joshua 6:26,” by Hanan Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 63–89.

(19) For example, *4QpaleoExod^m*, edited by Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson in *DJD* 9:53–130, pls. VII–XXXII, and *4QExod–Lev^f*, edited by Cross in *DJD* 12: 133–144, pl. XXII.

(20) E. Tov, “Rewritten Bible Composition and Biblical Manuscripts, with Special Attention to the Samaritan Pentateuch,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 334–354.

for the Tetragrammaton is not consequent, for example). Nevertheless there is a sort of consensus among the scholars about what books were considered authoritative within the collection, as show in the comparison of the two basic studies on the matter by James VanderKam (21) and by Armin Lange. (22) But instead of reproducing here the list of these books that you can easily find in these two articles, I prefer to look at the four main strategies used to express the authority of a composition that are used within the writings preserved in the collection in order to see what writings were considered authoritative there. This would show that the so-called “sectarian” writings were also considered authoritative within the group that put together the collection of manuscripts we call “the Dead Sea Scrolls”—with the caveat, of course, that our view of the collection as it originally was is totally partial and accidental since we cannot fathom the state of the collection as a whole at the moment of the deposit in the caves. The stories of previous discoveries (in the times of Origen, (23) of the Patriarch Timotheus I, (24) the Karaties, (25) etc.), as well as the enormous amount of “jarres à manuscrits” found in the caves, (26) whole or in broken state, is a caveat we should never forget and which makes all our speculations tentative. (27) This said, I think there are nevertheless

(21) James C. VanderKam, “Authoritative Literature in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 5 (1998) 382-402.

(22) Armin Lange, “The Status of the Biblical Texts in the Qumran Corpus and the Canonical Process,” in E. D. Herbert and E. Tov (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (London: The British Library – Oak Knoll, 2002), 21-30.

(23) As reported by Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 6:16:1.

(24) In his letter to Mar Sergius, metropolitan of Elam, edited by O. Braun in *Oriens Cristianus* 1 (1901): 299-313, see P. Kahle, *Die hebräischen Handschriften aus der Höhle* (Stuttgart, 1951), 56-61.

(25) For a summary of the evidence, see the article by Fred Astren, “Karaites,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (eds.) L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam (Oxford: New York, 2000) I:462-465, and the bibliography quoted there.

(26) According to Roland de Vaux, more than 50 on Cave 1 (*DJD* 1, 8), and a total of 106 on the caves of the cliff (*DJD* 3, 14), of which 35 on Cave 3 (*DJD* 3, 8).

(27) R. De Vaux, *DJD* 3, 34, after referring to the reported discovery alluded to in the letter of Patriarch Timotheus, comments: “La grotte de Thimotée peut être l’une de celles où des fragments ont encore été découverts récemment; elle peut être aussi l’une de celles où nous avons recueillie de la poterie mais pas d’écrits, si l’on suppose que les Juifs venus de Jérusalem ont emporté tous les manuscrits qui s’y trouvaient. On peut songer particulièrement à la grotte n° 29, cette chambre ronde où l’on accède par un étroit tunnel. On y a retrouvé les éléments d’une douzaine de jarres et dix-sept couvercles dont sept étaient intacts et empilés contre la paroi, à part des jarres. Cette disposition pourrait être l’indice d’une violation ancienne: les jarres auraient été vidées, et elles contenaient peut-être des manuscrits, comme celles de la grotte 1Q. Mais ces conjectures sont assez vaines.” Hartmut Stegemann links the

clear indications in the manuscripts which allow us to discern what books were considered authoritative for the people who put the collection together.

I have put these indications under four headings: Divine origin, rewriting, interpretation, and “the Voice of the Teacher.”

(1) Divine origin

The attribution of a divine origin to a writing (be it directly or indirectly) is possibly the clearest indication of the authority attributed to that writing. This strategy is used prominently within the *Temple Scroll*, a composition which rewrites part of Deuteronomy. (28) Although the missing beginning of the scroll has deprived us of essential elements, we can conclude that the main strategy for conferring authority on the composition is the transformation of the reference text in direct divine speech (in the *Temple Scroll* God gives direct orders, in the first person, without the mediation of Moses), thus making a direct claim on the source of all authority, the divine voice. (29) The same divine authority is attributed according to the *Rule of the Community* to other compositions. On 1QS 8:15-16 (partially preserved in 4Q258 and 4Q259) we can read: “This is the study of the law (מִדְרַשׁ הַתּוֹרָה) which he commanded through the hand of Moses, in order to act in compliance with all that has been revealed from age to age, and according to what the prophets have revealed through his holy spirit.” (30) This quote could imply some difference between the authority of the Torah and of the Prophets, since God “commanded” via Moses but “revealed” through the Prophets. But other texts from

reported discovery of the letter of Thimotheus to the alleged discovery by the Karaites, and thinks that the data fit perfectly Cave 3, which may have contained between 70 and 140 scrolls, see his *The Library of Qumran* (Grand Rapids-Leiden: Eerdmans-Brill, 1998), 68-71.

(28) Preserved in two or three copies: 11Q19 published by Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1977), 11Q20, published by García Martínez, Tigchelaar, van der Woude in *DJD* 23, and 4Q524 published by Puech in *DJD* 25.

(29) See L.H. Schiffmann, “The Temple Scroll and the Halakhic Pseudepigrapha of the Second Temple Period,” in E.G. Chazon and M.E. Stone (eds.), *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives* (STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 121-131, reprint in *The Court-yards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll* (STDJ 75; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 163-174; *Idem*, “The Book of Jubilees and the Temple Scroll,” in G. Boccacini and G. Ibba (eds.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 99-115.

(30) All translations of Dead Sea Scrolls in this paper are taken from F. García Martínez – E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden-Grand Rapids: Brill-Eerdmans, 2000).

the beginning of the *Rule* (1QS 1:3) show that both sorts of writings have the same authority: “as he (God) commanded by the hand of Moses and by the hand of all his servants the Prophets.” The expression used in both cases is the same (בִּיד); both types of writings thus have the same authority, since it is God who “commands” through them. In these two texts Moses and the Prophets are presented as instruments of divine authority, but it is not specified whether their writings are the ones which have authority, nor is it specified what these writings of Moses and of the Prophets are. In fact, the reference to the Torah and to the Prophets does not necessarily imply a reference to a writing, since “Torah” can signify the divine law, (31) and “the Prophets” can refer to the historical persons. (32) But we have other texts which expel all doubts, since they use the expression “the book of the Torah” or “the book of Moses,” and “the books of the Prophets.”

The expression סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה, whether preceded by a preposition or not, is the one which appears most frequently. (33) In CD 5:2 there is no doubt that it refers to a book: “However, David had not read the sealed book of the law which was in the ark, for it has not been opened in Israel.” Equally clear is *Temple Scroll*, which reads in 11Q19 56:3-4: “And you shall act according to the law which they explain to you and according to the word which they say to you from the book of the Law,” and in 11Q19 56:20-2:1: “And when he sits upon the throne of his kingdom they shall write for him this law according to the book which is before the priests.” The same book (or books, since we encounter also references to “the books of the law” סֵפֶרֵי הַתּוֹרָה in CD 7:15) is designated סֵפֶר מֹשֶׁה “the book of Moses” in 2Q25 1:3; 4Q249 [on the title of composition]; 4Q379 14-21 10. 15; and 4Q398 14-17 I 2.

For the “books of the Prophets” I do not find any reference which allows us to determine to which concrete books it refers. In order to determine which books are intended with this expression we need to examine the explicit quotations in which the name of the Prophet is

(31) As we can see in 4Q434a 2 12-13, which speaks of “the Law you have established” (לְתוֹרַת הַכִּינּוּתָה) in line 12 and refers “to the book of your laws” (סֵפֶר חֻקֶּיךָ) in line 13.

(32) See the observations of K. Berthelot, “Le titre des livres bibliques: le témoignage de la bibliothèque de Qumrân,” in A. Hilhorst, E. Puech, E. Tigchelaar (eds.), *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (JSJS 122; Leiden: Brill 2007), 127-140. She notes (on p. 136) that in CD 15:9, 16:2.5; 1QS 5:8, 8:15 and 22; 4Q162 2:7; 4Q382 15:7 and in other places, “Torah” is used to indicate the laws to be implemented.

(33) CD 5:2; 4Q267 5 iii 5; 4Q273 2,1; 6Q9 21,3; 11Q19 56:4 y 56:21.

mentioned. (34) These explicit quotations, introduced with formulae such as *כאשר אמר*, *כאשר כתות*, allow us to see to which books they refer and to determine at the same time the authority attributed to such books. Not all the Prophets are explicitly mentioned in this way. In the texts we encounter references to the “book” (*ספר*) of Zechariah in 4Q163, (35) to the books of Isaiah, Ezekiel and Daniel in 4Q174, (36) Ezekiel in 4Q177, (37) Jeremiah in 4Q182, (38) Isaiah in 4Q265, (39) as well as Psalms, Isaiah, Zachariah and Daniel in 11QMelchizedek. We also encounter references to other books that later on will not be considered as Scripture, whose quotation shows us that they were recognized as equally authoritative. This is the case with the *Book of Jubilees*, the *Aramaic Document of Levi*, and the *Book of Hagu* (or *Hagy*), to which we find several references (CD 10:6; 13:2; 14:7; 4Q266 8 iii 5; 4Q267 9 v 12; 4Q270 6 iv 17 y 1QSa 1:7) and which seems to be identical with the *Visions of Hagy* of 4QInstruction (4Q417 1 i 16), but of which (in spite of its authority) we have not found any copy in the collection.

The *Damascus Document* often uses this recourse to divine authority to show us the authority recognized to the writings of the Torah and of the Prophets, sometimes indicating the book in question, as in CD 3:20-21: “As God swore to them by means of Ezekiel saying” (followed by the quote of Ezek 44:15) and CD 4:13: “as God has said by means of the prophet Isaiah, sons of Amos, saying” (followed by the quote of Isa 24:17), and other times referring the quotation directly to God, without mentioning the book from which is quoted. Thus, in CD 6:12-14 the quotation of Malachi 1:10 is introduced simply as, “as God said,” and in CD 8:9 the quotation of Deut 32:23 is introduced by the phrase, “about whom God says.” In CD 9:7-8 there is an embedded citation of Lev 19:17 (introduced by “for he did not fulfill the commandment of God who said to him”), and again in CD 20:15-16, Hosea 3:4 is introduced with a similar reference: “And in this age the wrath of God will be kindled against Israel, as he said.”

VanderKam has collected all the references in the sectarian writings where the introductory formulas (with *כתב* or with *אמר*) refer to

34 See the lists discussed by J.C. VanderKam, “Authoritative Literature,” 391-395 and by G.J. Brooke, “Prophets and Prophecy in the Qumran Scrolls and the New Testament,” in R. Clements and D. Schwartz (eds.), *Text, Thought and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity* (STDJ 84; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 31-48.

(35) 4Q163 8-10:8.

(36) 4Q174 1-2 I 15; 1-2 I 16; 1-3 ii 3.

(37) 4Q177 7:3.

(38) 4Q182 1:4.

(39) 4Q264 1:3.

the Deity. But I do not think it is necessary to insist further. The recourse to the divine voice as strategy of authorization of a writing and as a way to show that the writing was recognized as authoritative by the group seems to me abundantly proved.

(2) Rewriting

The second clear indication of the authority attributed to a writing is its re-writing. The writings that attracted secondary developments, that were modified, interpreted or adapted, had their authority enhanced and more firmly established. And the process works both ways: The new composition reinforces the authority of the existing text, and at the same time it the new composition appropriates a share of the existing text's authority. (40)

This strategy of "authorization" was, of course, already in use in the compositions which would later become the Tanak. (41) If we consider the Hebrew canon, we see that several books, such as Deuteronomy and Chronicles, which are rewritings of other authoritative writings, have ended as canonical books. Deuteronomy rewrites legal materials from Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers, and Chronicles rewrites materials from Samuel-Kings. If we consider the Greek canon, the list of rewritings that became canonical is greatly enlarged. Emanuel Tov put in this category 3 Kingdoms, Esther and Daniel with their additions, (42) to which 1 Esdras or Maccabees can be added. Moreover, a look at the Latin canon adds even more books, such as 4 Ezra. (43) That this process was very much alive is evident when we consider the compositions found in the Qumran collection.

The example of *4QTestimonia*, quoted above, brings to the fore the importance of the so-called "rewritings" (44) as a key element for

(40) See G.J. Brooke, "The Rewriting Law, Prophets and Psalms: Issues for Understanding the Text of the Bible," in E. D. Herbert and E. Tov (eds.), *The Bible as Book*, 31-40.

(41) See the classic study by M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985).

(42) E. Tov, "3 Kingdoms Compared with Similar Rewritten Compositions," in *Flores Florentino*, 345-366.

(43) See H. Najman, "How Should We Contextualize Pseudepigrapha? Imitation and Emulation in 4 Ezra," in *Flores Florentino*, 529-536.

(44) On the phenomenon of "rewriting," see the sensible remarks of M. Bernstein, "The Contribution of the Qumran Discoveries to the History of Early Biblical Interpretation," in H. Najman and J.H. Newman (eds.), *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel* (JSJS 83; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 215-238; of M. Segal, "Between Bible and Rewritten Bible," in M. Henze (ed.), *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (SDDSSL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 20-28; and particularly

understanding the authority of sacred writings at Qumran. The first and the fourth of the writings which are adduced as authoritative belong precisely to this category: the first quote, from a Samaritan type text, is a revision or a different edition of the source text, and the fourth quote is from a more thoroughgoing reworking, in which the reference to the source text (the curse in the Book of Joshua) is adduced to authorize the new composition.

George Brooke has written a very insightful article on the significance of reworking the Bible in understanding the canonical process. (45) In it he lists no less than nine forms in which the reworking of the Bible has influenced the canonical process, rendering unnecessary any discussion of the matter here in greater detail. I will quote only his conclusion:

This paper has tried to argue that from many perspectives the reworked scriptural compositions, some of which themselves end up as canonical, are a fundamental part of the transition from authority to canon; within early Judaism scriptural rewriting is an integral part of how the processes leading by which a composition moves from being authoritative in a limited way to belonging firmly to a canonical list. (46)

The modern debate on the category of the “rewritten Bible” (47) has fully recognized the fuzzy character of the evidence but at the same time has emphasized the importance of the text’s relationship to a previous antecedent authoritative text in the process of establishing the authoritativeness of a new composition. It is obvious that all rewriting implies the recognition of the authority of the reference text (the book of Joshua in the case of *4QTestimonia*), and it is equally obvious that at the same time it adds something to its authority. (In the words of George Brooke, “Any text worth its salt would naturally be accompanied by a tradition of reworkings.” (48)) It is

of G.J. Brooke, “The Rewriting Law, Prophets and Psalms,” 31–40. For more recent summaries of the issues, see Daniel Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures Among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 8; London-New York: T&T Clark, 2007) and S. White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008).

(45) G.J. Brooke, “Between Authority and Canon: The Significance of Reworking the Bible for Understanding the Canonical Process,” in E.G. Chazon, D. Dimant and R.A. Clements (eds.), *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 85–104.

(46) Brooke, “Between Authority and Canon,” 104.

(47) See M. Bernstein, “‘Rewritten Bible’: A Category Which Has Outlived its Usefulness?” *Textus* 22 (2005): 169–196, for a summary of the main positions.

(48) Brooke, “Between Authority and Canon,” 98.

also obvious that all rewriting implies a particular interpretation of the reference text in order to adapt it to a new situation or to new ideas—otherwise the rewriting would not be necessary—and is therefore intended more to correct the reference text and to be accepted as its authoritative interpretation than to supplant it. At the same time it is equally obvious that not all rewritings acquired equally authoritative status. This implies that other, additional authoritative strategies were needed to achieve this status.

A look at one of the best examples of rewriting, the *Book of Jubilees*, can prove the point. (49) *Jubilees* rewrites Genesis as a Mosaic discourse in which the Angel of the presence reveals the contents of the book to Moses, in a process that Hindy Najman named “interpretation as primordial writing.” Najman describes the four authority-conferring strategies used by *Jubilees* as recourse to the Heavenly Tables (a corpus of teachings kept in heaven), recourse to the angel of the presence who dictates the content to Moses, recourse to Moses as the recipient of the revelation which makes of *Jubilees* a ספר משה, and recourse to the presentation of the new teachings as an interpretation of the Torah. (50) In *Jubilees* we encounter the recourse to direct revelation by God in chapter 1. In 1:26 Moses is told, according to some Ethiopic manuscripts, to write down “all these words which I will tell you on this mountain”—although according to other Ethiopic manuscripts, God himself writes for Moses everything that He will tell him in the mountain. But generally it is the Angel of the Presence, starting in 1:27, who imparts the revelation to Moses, (51) although a good part of the revelations come from the Heavenly Tables from

(49) The fragments of *Jubilees* and of so-called “Pseudo Jubilees” found in Cave 4 were edited by VanderKam and Milik in *DJD* 13, 1-186, pl. I-XII. The literature on *Jubilees* has exploded the latest years. See J.C. VanderKam, “Recent Scholarship on the Book of Jubilees,” *Currents in Biblical Research* 6 (2008): 405-431. Among recent monographs which study *Jubilees* as rewriting, see J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, *Primeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1-11 in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJS 66; Brill, Leiden 2000), Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (JSJS 117; Leiden: Brill, 2001), and James L. Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees* (JSJS 156; Leiden: Brill, 2012).

(50) H. Najman, “Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and Its Authority Conferring Strategies,” *JSJ* 30 (1999): 379-410. For a more detailed analysis of the significance of writing in the process of conferring authority, see Najman’s book, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (JSJS 77; Leiden: Brill, 2003) and her contribution, “The Symbolic Significance of Writing in Ancient Judaism,” in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation*, 139-173.

(51) See J.C. VanderKam, “The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees,” *DSD* 7 (2000), 378-393, and more recently, *Idem*, “Moses Trumping Moses,” in S. Metso, H. Najman, E. Schuller (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (STDJ 92; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 25-44.

which the angel reads. (52) The relationship of *Jubilees* to Genesis is like the relationship of Deuteronomy to the texts that it rewrites. (53) In fact, *Jubilees* twice refers explicitly to “the first law” (6:22 and 30:12) which allows us to conclude that its finality is not to replace the Torah, the Law of Moses, but to interpret it by completing the first Torah with the interpretations of *Jubilees*. In fact CD 16:2-4, which has preserved the title of *Jubilees*, puts in a strict parallel both writings, using the same word: (54) “Therefore, one will impose upon <him> self to return to the law of Moses, for in it all is defined (מדוקדק). And the exact interpretation of their ages about the blindness of Israel in all these matters, behold, it is defined (מדוקדק) in ‘The book of the divisions of the periods according to their jubilees and their weeks.’” In addition to the explicit reference to *Jubilees* with the introductory formula כִּי כֵן כָּתוּב in 4Q228 1 I 9, *Jubilees* has itself been the subject of rewriting in the series of *Pseudo Jubilees* compositions (4Q225–228), (55) and in others, (56) and according to some scholars it is interpreted as Scripture by 4Q390. (57) Thus, I do not think that it can be doubted that, as was the case with recourse to the divine voice, the recourse to rewriting is one of the forms that allows

(52) On the heavenly tablets, see F. García Martínez, “The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees,” in M. Albani, J. Frey, and A. Lange (eds.), *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 243-260; H. Najman, “Interpretation as Primordial Writing,” 379-410; Martha Himmelfarb, “Torah, Testimony, and Heavenly Tables: The Claim to Authority in the Book of Jubilees,” in B.G. Wright (ed.), *A Multiform Heritage: Studies in Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 22-28; G. Boccaccini, “From a Movement of Dissent to a Distinct Form of Judaism: The Heavenly Tablets in Jubilees as the Founding of a Competing Halakah,” in G. Boccaccini and G. Ibba (eds.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah*, 193-210, and Shani Tzoref, “Covenantal Election in 4Q252 and Jubilees’ Heavenly Tablets,” *DSD* 18 (2011), 74-89.

(53) For the rewriting of Pentateuchal legislation, see J.C. VanderKam, “Exegesis of Pentateuchal Legislations in Jubilees and Related Texts found at Qumran,” in A. Moriya and G. Hata (eds.), *Pentateuchal Traditions in the Late Second Temple Period* (JSJS 158; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 177-200. For the rewriting of Pentateuchal narrative, see J. van Ruiten, “Between Jacob’s Death and Moses’ Birth: The Intertextual Relationship Between Genesis 50:15 – Exodus 1:14 and *Jubilees* 46:1-16,” in Flores Florentino, 467-489 and the monographs quoted in n. 49.

(54) As already noted independently by VanderKam, “Moses Trumping Moses,” 43.

(55) Edited by J.C. VanderKam in *DJD* 13: 141–185, pls. X–XII.

(56) See Aharon Shemesh, “4Q265 and the Authoritative Status of *Jubilees* at Qumran,” in G. Boccaccini and G. Ibba (eds.), *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah*, 247-260.

(57) Edited by Devorah Dimant in *DJD* 30: 235-253, pl. XI. See, Todd R. Hanneken, “The Status and Interpretation of *Jubilees* in 4Q390,” in E.F. Mason *et alii* (eds.), *A Teacher for All Generations. Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, Vol. 1 (JSJS 153/1; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 407-428.

us to recognize the authority that some writing had within the collection. This strategy to confer authority to new compositions is clearly used in many of the compositions that rewrite prophetic texts and witness in this way of the authority that these prophetic writings had within the collection. The writings known as *Pseudo Daniel* (4Q243-246), (58) *Pseudo Jeremiah* and/or *Pseudo Ezekiel* (4Q383-391) (59) are good examples of the rewriting of prophetic texts which uses the authority of the old texts to introduce new theological ideas and to adapt them to a new context, enhancing in this way the authority of the new compositions. (60)

But when looking at the whole collection, it is clear that the appeal to an earlier authoritative text does not concern only books that later on will form part of the Tanak but includes many other writings as well. For *Jubilees*, the *Books of Enoch* are such authoritative texts, as *1 Enoch* 6-11 is used to present the story of the fallen angels. (61) *Jubilees* also presents Enoch's books as a "testimony" in 4:19: "He (Enoch) wrote his testimony and placed it upon the earth, for all the humans, for all their generations." In the case of *Jubilees*, as Collins has observed, "Enoch provided a model of revelation that could claim a form of divine authority distinct from the traditional Torah of Moses." (62)

We can say something similar in the case of the *Genesis Apocryphon*. (63) M. Bernstein rightly affirms: "The second major argument

(58) Published by Collins and Flint (4Q243-245) and by Puech (4Q246) in *DJD* 22, 95-184, pls. IX-XI.

(59) 4Q384 and 4QQ391 were published by Smith in *DJD* 19, 137-193, pls. XVI-XXV, the rest by Dimant in *DJD* 30.

(60) See, for example, F. García Martínez, "The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in Id. and M. Vervenne (eds.), *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust* (BETL 192; Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 163-176.

(61) See Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 104-143; J.S. Bergsma, "The Relationship between *Jubilees* and the Early Enochic Books," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah*, 36-51.

(62) J.J. Collins, "The Genre of the Book of *Jubilees*," in *A Teacher for All Generations*, 737-755, on p. 749.

(63) The most recent edition is by D. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text Edition and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13-17* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009). The best commentary is the third edition of J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)* (3d ed.; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004). For a recent collection of studies on the Apocryphon see the double issue of *Aramaic Studies* 8 (2010). I follow the division of the text in three cycles proposed by E. Eshel, "The *Genesis Apocryphon*: A Chain of Traditions," in A. Roitman, L. Schiffman, S. Tzoref (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference held at the*

against the unity of the Apocryphon comes from the radically different ways in which the Lamech-Noah sections (Part I) and the Abram section (Part II) relate to the Hebrew text of the Bible.” (64) And indeed, the latest columns (co. 21:23-22) of the Abraham cycle are practically an Aramaic translation of the “biblical” text and show in this way the authority given to the book of Genesis, which text, in spite of some amplifications, is duly followed even in style, speaking of Abraham in the third-person. The first columns of the Abraham cycle (col.19-20), while keeping the narrative frame of Gen 12, completely rewrite this narrative, making Abram speak in the first-person and adding a series of midrashic developments, (65) witnessing also on this way of the authority of the reference text. But the columns corresponding to the cycle of Enoch (col. 0-5) and Noah (col. 6-18) (the largest part of the preserved text) do not refer only to the text of Genesis as the source of authority. In the words of Bernstein:

The limited remains of Part I of the Apocryphon are connected only very loosely to the text of the Hebrew Bible, and we note that in columns 0-5 there is virtually nothing substantial which can be linked to the actual words of the Bible. The outline of the biblical story is followed, more or less, in Part I, but the biblical texts itself is of little import, and even the details of the biblical narrative do not play a significant role in the retelling. (66)

In fact, they refer to other writings as sources of authority. The Enoch cycle is only comprehensible in the light of the *Books of Enoch* and the *Book of the Giants*. Nickelsburg considers it “a rewriting of the story in 1 Enoch 106-107.” (67) Eshel prefers to see the relationship

Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6-8, 2008) (STDJ 93; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 181-193, and in E. Eshel, “The *Genesis* Apocryphon and Other Related Aramaic Texts from Qumran: The Birth of Noah,” in K. Berthelot and D. Stökl Ben Ezra (eds.), *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June-2 July 2008* (STDJ 94; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 277-294, preferring it to the division in two cycles (a Noah and a Abram cycle) of Daniel Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 30, or the two parts of Moshe Bernstein, “Is the Genesis Apocryphon a Unity? What Sort of Unity Were You Looking For?” *Aramaica Studies* 8 (2010), 107-134.

(64) Bernstein, “Is the Genesis Apocryphon a Unity?” 112.

(65) Like the description of Sarai’s beauty, which is an expansion of Gen 12:14-15, or the walking of Abraham delineating the boundaries of the Land of Israel, which fulfills the divine command of Gen 13:17.

(66) Bernstein, “Is the Genesis Apocryphon a Unity?” 112-113.

(67) George W.E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 74. See also his “Patriarchs Who Worry About Their Wives: A Haggadic Tendency in Genesis

between the *Genesis Apocryphon* and *1 Enoch* 106-107 in terms of dependence of both narratives from “an earlier tradition, probably found in the book(s) of Noah.” (68) In any case, it is clear that Scripture is not the only authoritative source of the Enoch cycle. And the Noah cycle starts in col. 5:29 with a reference to the *כתב מלי נוח*, preceded probably by the word *פרשגן*: “copy of the book of the words of Noah.” Even if this “book” were a reference not to a real book but to a literary fiction, (69) it is clear that Genesis is not the only source of authority for the writer. This is also clear from 19:25, where Abraham is presented as reading before the Egyptians from another book: *וקרית קודציהון לכתב מלי חנוך*, “and I read before them from the book of the words of Enoch.”

The same happens with the *Books of Enoch*. (70) In order to see its dependence on Scripture it is enough to read the pages that

Apocryphon,” in M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon (eds.), *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1988), 138-144.

(68) Eshel, “The *Genesis Apocryphon*,” 293. See also the conclusion of Stuckenbruck, “The Lamech Narrative in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QApGen) and *Birth of Noah* (4QEnoch^c ar): A Tradition-Historical Study,” in *Aramaica Qumranica*, 253-272, who, after a detailed comparison of *Genesis Apocryphon* I-V,26 and *1 Enoch* 106, concludes on p. 272: “These comparisons lead to the conclusion that, rather than assigning a tradition-historical priority to either *Genesis Apocryphon* or BN as a whole, both works seem to draw on a shared skeletal storyline which the writers of each have embellished in very different ways. While the similarities between the documents suggest a genetic link between them, the differences between them suggest that either (a) this link had not taken written form (was circulating orally) or that, in any case, (b) the tradition was not fixed.”

(69) The matter has been very much disputed since the article by Richard C. Steiner, “The Heading of the *Book of the Words of Noah* on a Fragment of the *Genesis Apocryphon*: New Light on a ‘Lost’ Work,” *DSD* 2 (1995), 66-71, with some scholars accepting its reality and others considering it as fiction; for example, D. Dimant, “Two ‘Scientific’ Fictions: The So-Called *Book of Noah* and the Alleged Quotation of *Jubilees* in CD 16:3-4,” in P. Flint, E. Tov, and J. VanderKam (eds.), *Studies in the Hebrew Bible: Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (VTS 101; Leiden, Brill, 2006), 230-249. For a more balanced presentation see M. Stone, “The Book(s) attributed to Noah,” *DSD* 13 (2006) 4-23 and the recent collection of articles on the topic: M. Stone, A. Amitay, V. Hillel (eds.), *Noah and His Books* (Early Judaism and Its Literature 28; SBL, Willinston 2010).

(70) Also abundantly represented at Qumran, see J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976). For the Ethiopic text, see M.A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Scroll Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978). The Greek texts were edited by M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henoch Graece* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970). The most recent commentaries are G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Books of Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, Fortress, 2001), G.W.E. Nickelsburg and J.C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2: A*

Nickelsburg has dedicated to the topic in his *Hermeneia* commentary, (71) the study of Lars Hartman on the use of the Scripture in *1 Enoch* 1-5, (72) or that by Michael Knibb on the same use on *1 Enoch* 17-19. (73) But it also equally clear that the Scripture is not the only, or even the most important, source of authority: angelic revelation and the knowledge of the heavenly books are the prime source of authority of the composition. The point is well known and I do not need to deal with it at length. (74) A couple of examples should suffice to show the importance of other writings for the authors/redactors of the *Books of Enoch*.

Enoch, the protagonist, is described as a “scribe,” “scribe of justice” (12:3-4) and “scribe of truth” (15:1) because his function is to put in writing the divine secrets revealed to him. (75) In the *Astronomical Enoch*, (76) is the angel Uriel the one who shows to Enoch:

the book about the motion of the heavenly luminaries, all as they are in their kinds, their jurisdiction, their time, their name, their origins, and their months which Uriel, the holy angel who was with me and who is

Commentary on the Books of 1 Enoch, Chapters 37-82 (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2011), and L. T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91-108* (Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007). For a relevant collection of studies, see G. Boccaccini and John J. Collins (eds.), *The Early Enoch Literature* (JSJS 121; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

(71) In the section “Scripture in 1 Enoch,” in G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 57-58.

(72) L. Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1-5* (Lund: Gleerup, 1979).

(73) M. Knibb, “The Use of Scripture in *1 Enoch* 17-19,” in F. García Martínez, G. Luttikhuisen (eds.), *Alexandria, Rome: Studies in Ancient Cultural Interaction in Honour of A. Hilhorst* (JSJS 82; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 165-178.

(74) See the studies collected in *The Early Enoch Literature*, particularly G. Nickelsburg, “Enochic Wisdom and its Relationship to the Mosaic Torah,” pp. 81-94, and A. Bedenbender, “The Place of the Torah in the Early Enoch Literature,” pp. 65-79. For a dissenting voice, see P. Heger, *Challenges to Conventional Opinions on Qumran and Enoch Issues* (STDJ 100; Leiden: Brill, 2012).

(75) On 4Q203 (a copy of the *Book of the Giants*) frag. 8, line 4, we can read: פֶּרֶשָׁא סֵפֶר חֲנוּךְ בְּכַתְּבֵי יַד חֲנוּךְ “in a document of the hand of Enoch, the distinguished scribe.” Stuckenbruck translated the latter phrase as “the scribe of interpretation,” interpreting פֶּרֶשָׁא as an allusion to the message which needed to be interpreted, as appears on line 13. See Stuckenbruck, *DJD* 36, 32.

(76) The Qumran manuscripts of the *Astronomical Enoch* (4Q208, 209, 210, 211) offer a text much more developed than the Ethiopic. 4Q208 and 4Q209 were edited by Tigchelaar and García Martínez in *DJD* 36, 95-171, pls. III-VII. 4Q210 and 4Q211 were edited by Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 284-288. Pl. XXVIII and XXX, and pp. 296-297, pl. XXIX. A new edition has been recently published by Henryk Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Books (4Q208-4Q211) from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

their leader, showed me. The entire book about them, as it is, he showed me and how every year of the world will be forever, until a new creation lasting forever is made. (*1 Enoch* 72:1) (77)

Enoch observes all the heavenly phenomena, writes everything he sees, and gives these writings to his son Methuselah so that they will be transmitted for all generations:

Now my son Methuselah, I am telling you all these things and am writing (them) down. I have revealed all of them to you and have given you the books about all these things. My son, keep the book written by your father so that you may give (it) to the generations of the world. Wisdom I have given to you and to your children and to those who will be your children so that they may give this wisdom which is beyond their thought to their children for the generations. (*1 Enoch* 82:1)

Equally important as this angelic revelation are the references to the "heavenly tablets," from which Enoch gets all his knowledge: (78)

He said to me: 'Enoch, look at the heavenly tablets, read what is written on them, and understand each and every item.' I looked at all the heavenly tablets, read everything that was written, and understood everything. I read the book of all the actions of people and of all humans who will be on the earth for the generations of the world. (*1 Enoch* 81:1-2)

Enoch is then told to transmit the knowledge thus acquired to his descendants and to provide them with a written copy in the year that is given to him before being taken away:

Those seven holy ones brought me and set me on the earth in front of the gate to my house. They said to me: 'Tell everything to your son Methuselah and show all your children that no human is righteous before the Lord, for he created them. We will leave you with your son for one year until you give your (last?) command, to teach your children, write for them, and testify to all your children: in the second year they will take you from them.' (*1 Enoch* 81: 5-6)

(77) All translations from *1 Enoch* are taken from G.W.E. Nickelsburg and J.C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation Based on the Hermeneia Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004).

(78) The heavenly tablets, both in *1 Enoch* and particularly in *Jubilees*, have been object of much study (see n. 52). For a recent attempt to put them within the perspective of other heavenly books, see Leslie Baynes, *The Heavenly Book Motif in Judeo-Christian Apocalypses 200 BCE-200 CE* (JSJS 152; Leiden: Brill, 2012).

Also in the *Animal Apocalypse*, we do find references to heavenly books, written by the angels, and read in front of God:

And thus in the vision I saw how that one who was writing was writing down each one that was being destroyed by those shepherds every day, and (how) he was bringing up and <spreading out> and showing that whole book to the Lord of the sheep, everything that they had done, and everything that they had handed over to destruction And the book was read in the presence of the Lord of the sheep, and he took the book from his hand and read it and set it down. (*1 Enoch* 89:70-71)

As it was the case in *Jubilees* and in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, we find thus in *1 Enoch* the knowledge of the Scripture and the acknowledgment of its authority; and we find also that for the redactors of *1 Enoch*, Scripture is neither the only source of authority, nor the most important. As it is said at the beginning of the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, the heavenly visions of the Patriarch, the revelations of the angels which he has received and his knowledge of the heavenly tables are the basis of the knowledge which the Patriarch has gathered and which the books of Enoch try to transmit: "The vision of heaven was shown to me, and from the words of the watchers and holy ones I have learned everything, and in the heavenly tablets I read everything and I understood" (79) (*1 Enoch* 93:2). The knowledge that the books of Enoch reveals to its readers is not superseded by the later revelation on Mount Sinai contained on the Torah of the Scripture; on the contrary, the books of the Patriarch are presented as having supreme authority. As is clear from *1 Enoch* 104:10-13: (80)

And I know this mystery, that sinners will alter and copy the words of truth, and pervert many and lie and invent great fabrications, and write books in their own names. (81) Would that they would write all my words in truth, (82) and neither remove nor alter these words, but write in truth all I testify to them. And again I know a second mystery, that to the righteous and pious and wise my books will be given for

(79) This translation follows the Aramaic of 4Q212 iii 18-21. The Ethiopic is a little different, see Nickelsbrug, *1 Enoch*, 435, and Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch* 91-108, 81 for the details.

(80) See Loren T. Stukenbruck, "Reflections on Sources behind the Epistle of Enoch and the Significance of *1 Enoch* 104:9-13 for the Reception of Enochic Tradition," in *A Teacher for All Generations*, 704-714.

(81) According to the Greek. The Ethiopic reads: "and write my books in their own words." For the details of the differences, see Nickelsbrug, *1 Enoch*, 533-534, and Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch* 91-108, 591-593.

(82) Greek adds: "in their names."

the joy of righteousness and much wisdom. Indeed to them the books will be given (83), and they will believe in them, and in them all the righteous will rejoice and be glad, to learn from them all the paths of truth.

Nickelsburg, in the footsteps of Milik, (84) understands the passage as a defense of the work as a pseudepigraphon; for Stuckenbruck it is rather an attack against those who have perverted the Enoch tradition which is considered sacred; (85) and Caquot interprets “books” as Scripture, understanding the accusation as falsification of the Scripture. (86) Be what it may, what our text makes absolutely clear is that the supreme authority is placed not on Scripture but on the Enochic writings, those which will be given to “the righteous and pious and wise,” and if they believe in them, they “will rejoice and be glad” and will “learn from them the paths of truth.”

We can say something similar of the *Aramaic Levi Document* (= *ALD*), well represented at Qumran, (87) but better known from the two Genizah copies and the Greek fragments at Mount Athos Monastery. (88) This composition also recognizes the authority of Scripture, but it also has other authoritative sources, namely the authority of the ancestors kept within the lineage of Levi and preserved in writing. *ALD* contains a series of specific instructions given to Levi regarding his obligations as a priest. (89) In his study of the sacrificial halakah of the document, Schiffman has studied all the prescriptions which appear in the text and compared them with relevant biblical prescriptions, and in his conclusion he underlines that *ALD* “is oriented toward sacrificial procedure, towards filling the gaps in the biblical text and

(83) This sentence is missing in the Greek.

(84) Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 50.

(85) “The text, in this case, presents itself as the reception of Enochic tradition by a claimant to Enoch’s name who, in his very interpretation and transmission of the tradition, regards himself as divinely inspired.” Stuckenbruck, “Reflections on Sources,” 713.

(86) A. Caquot, *I Hénoc*, in A. Dupont-Sommer and M. Philonenko (eds.), *La Bible: Ecrits intertestamentaires* (Gallimard, Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1987), 619: “ils falsifient les Ecritures.”

(87) 1Q21 was edited by Milik in *DJD* 1, 87-91, pl. XVII; 4Q213. 4Q213a, 4Q312b. 4Q214, 4Q214a and 4Q214b were edited by M.E. Stone and J. Greenfield in *DJD* 22, 1-72 pl. I-IV.

(88) See the recent editions by Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJS 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004) and J. Greenfield, M.E. Stone, E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

(89) See R.A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi* (SBLEJL 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

describing the manner in which rites are to be performed.” (90) The dependence on Scripture is clear, but it is also clear that many of the norms of the document refer to a different source of authority, namely the authority of Abraham. This is the case of *ALD* 7:3-4, the norm that the wood should be examined to see if there are worms: (91)

And when you are about to sacrifice anything fitting to offer up on the altar, wash your hands and feet once again, and offer split wood, and examine it first for worms and then offer it up, for thus I saw my father Abraham acting with care. (92)

Equally of 7:5-7, when describing the sort of wood that can be used for sacrifices:

Of any of all twelve kinds of wood which are fitting, he told me to offer up on the altar, whose smoke rises up with a pleasant odor. And these are their names—cedar and juniper, and almond and fir and pine and ash, cypress and fig and oleaster, laurel and myrtle and asphalathos. (93) These are those that he told me are fitting to offer up beneath the holocaust upon the altar.

Or of 10:5-10, where the norm about washing hands and feet to clean them of blood after sacrificing and the norm of also covering the blood from non-sacrificial animals, are framed by references indicating these norms have their origin in Abraham’s prescriptions. 10:3 reads: “For my father Abraham commanded me to do thus and so command my sons.”

10:10 is particularly interesting because, like *I Enoch*, it justifies these new halakhoth not only by the authority of the ancestor, but by the reference to a written source: the book of Noah: “For thus my father Abraham commanded me for thus he found in the writing of the book of Noah concerning the blood.”

All this confirms what Stone says: “The existence of the ritual instruction book in *Aramaic Levi Document* may serve to remind us

(90) Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Sacrificial Halakhah in the Fragments of the *Aramaic Levi Document* from Qumran, the Cairo Genizah, and Mt. Athos Monastery,” in *Reworking the Bible*, 177-202 (quote on p. 202). See also Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel (eds.), *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 41-42: “The Sacrificial Ordinances and Measures.”

(91) This and the following text are partially preserved in 4Q214 frag. 2 and 4Q214b frags. 2-6 i.

(92) See Schiffman, “Sacrificial Halakhah,” 183-185.

(93) On the list of trees in Aramaic and Greek, and its relationship to *Jubilees* 21:12, see Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel (eds.), *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 163-165, and Schiffman, “Sacrificial Halakhah,” 185-186.

that there must have been a literature of priestly instruction.” (94) Even if this ritual instruction, which we can assume was transmitted in levitical circles, goes back in part to the legislation contained in the Scripture, the reference to Noah’s book concerning the blood proves that the Pentateuch was not the only authoritative source for the *Aramaic Levi Document*.

Neither was it the only authoritative source for the *Testament of Qahat* (4Q542), (95) of which I quote the passage most representative for my argument: 4Q542 1 ii 9-13: (96)

Now, to you, Amram my son, I command [a heritage that has been transmitted (to me) and which you receive] and to your chil[dren], and to their descendants I command[all the sacred writings that our fathers received / wrote] and gave to my father Levi, and that my father Levi [gave] to me [and which I Qohath give to you, my son, and to your sons] *all my writings as a testimony*, (97) that you should take warning from them [as the heritage of your forefathers. And there shall be] great merit for you in them when you carry them along with you *va[cat]*.

Even if we disregard the reconstructions of Puech, line 12 has clearly preserved the reference to writings other than Scripture: “all my writings as a testimony.” The Aramaic text reads כֹּל כְּתָבִי בִשְׁהָדִי. The use of בִּשְׁהָדִי “as a testimony,” which has no parallel in other Aramaic texts, is rather significant and it clearly parallels the use of תְּעוּדָה in the *Book of Jubilees*. Puech refers (98) to an article by Caquot (99) which concludes that:

le témoignage n’est pas, en règle générale, une autre manière de désigner la loi, c’est un complément de la loi, un principe supplémentaire de connaissance et d’action dont l’essénisme devait revendiquer la possession en propre. (100)

(94) In the “Response” to the paper of Katell Berthelot, *Aramaica Qumranica*, 200.

(95) Edited by Puech in *DJD* 31, 257-281, pl. XV.

(96) In the translation of E. Cook in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library* (Revised Edition 2006; Leiden: Brill, 2006) who, contrary to the *DSSE*, translates the reconstruction of Puech.

(97) Emphasis added.

(98) *DJD* 31, 279.

(99) A. Caquot, “‘Loi’ et ‘témoignage’ dans le Livre des Jubilés,” in C. Robin (ed.), *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson par ses élèves, ses collègues et ses amis* (Comptes Rendus du groupe linguistique d’études chamito-sémitiques, Supplement 12; Paris:Geuthner, 1985), 137-145.

(100) Caquot, “‘Loi’ et ‘témoignage’,” 145.

Cana Werman has opposed this interpretation and considers תעודה "the preordained march of history." (101) But VanderKam has persuasively showed that תעודה should be identified with the contents of the book of *Jubilees* itself, although these contents may not exhaust the testimony contained in the heavenly tablets, (102) and as such it designated not the Torah, but a complement to the Torah. As Collins has concluded in the case of *Jubilees*: "The authority claimed for this 'testimony,' then, is at least as great as that of the Torah, arguably greater." (103) We can say the same of the "testimony" in the *Testament of Qahat*. In this composition also, as in the other compositions surveyed, we do find an acknowledgment of the authority of the books that will later become the Tanak, but also a reference to other authoritative writings, the books of the ancestors given "as testimony."

I think we can conclude that when looking at the collection as a whole, we do find a clear acknowledgment of the authority of Scripture expressed in the rewritings, but we also find a clear acknowledgment of the authority of other writings which were not Scripture.

(3) Interpretation

Explicit interpretation (pesharim, commentaries, florilegium, catenae, etc.), in so far as it differs from the implicit interpretation which *is* all rewriting, is also a clear indication of the authority attributed to the writing which is interpreted. In these compositions, as opposed to the rewritings, the source texts from Scripture are clearly presented as different from the interpretations, and the writer is very much conscious that his writing is an interpretation of the texts he is quoting. As Timothy Lim has indicated, (104) this phenomenon of lemmatic commentary is highly significant for the sense of authority of the prophetic books and the Psalms.

(101) Cana Werman, "The תורה and the תעודה" Engraved on the Tablets," *DSD* 9 (2002), 75-103.

(102) VanderKam, "Moses Trumping Moses," 42: "If one takes into account everything *Jubilees* says about the testimony, it appears that those scholars who identify *Jubilees* itself, less the introductory material in the Prologue and ch. 1, as the testimony are correct, though the book may not exhaust all that is present in the written testimony on the heavenly tablets."

(103) John J. Collins, "The Genre of the Book of *Jubilees*," in *A Teacher for All Generations*, 746.

(104) Timothy H. Lim, "Authoritative Scriptures and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in T.H. Lim and J.J. Collins (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 303-322.

This type of pesherite interpretation understands the authority of the Scripture to which it refers as being guaranteed by divine revelation, as it is explicitly asserted on 1QpHab 7:1-5:

And God told (ידבר) Habakkuk to write what was going to happen <to> the last generation, but he did not let him know the consummation of the era. And as for what he says (Hab 2:2) "So that /may run/ the one who reads it." Its interpretation concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God has made known (הודיע) all the mysteries of the words of his servants, the prophets.

Although authoritative (since God is the origin of the writing of Habakkuk, after all), the text of the Prophet is not complete: God has not made known to the Prophet what is going to happen at the end-time. The words of the Habakkuk remain for him a mystery, a secret, that is only revealed, made known by God, to the Teacher of Righteousness, the one to whom all the mysteries that have remained concealed in the prophetic writings are revealed. This clearly implies that it is not only the Scripture quoted that is considered authoritative, but also that the commentary is considered equally authoritative, since it, too, is guaranteed by divine revelation: what was not revealed to the Prophets has been made known to the Teacher. As Lim puts it in the conclusion of his article: "Authoritative literature included the biblical lemmata cited, but also the pesherite interpretation." (105) This revelation to the Teacher also implies that he (whoever it may have been) is presented as the originator of this pesherite interpretation, and that the writer of the pesher, who is clearly not the original Teacher, places himself following him, extending the revelation contained on his words.

That this revelation did not cease with the death of the historical Teacher of Righteousness appears clearly in the same pesher of Habakkuk 2:1-10:

[The interpretation of the word concerns] the traitors with the Man of the Lie, since they do not [believe in the words of] the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God; and (it concerns) the traitors [of the] new covenant.] si[n]ce they do not believe in the covenant of God [and dishonoured] his holy na[me]. Likewise: the interpretation of the word [concerns the trai]tors in the last days. They are the

(105) Lim, "Authoritative Scriptures and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 319. See also J. VanderKam, "Revealed Literature in the Second Temple Period," in his *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (JSJS 62; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1-30.

violator[s of the coven]ant who will not believe when they hear all that is going [to happen t]o the final generation from the mouth of the Priest whom God has placed wi[thin the commun]ity to foretell the fulfilment of all the words of his servants, the Prophets, [by] means of whom God has declared all that is going to happen to his people Is[rael.]

In this text is a clear differentiation between the historical Teacher of Righteousness (the one who opposed the Man of the Lie) and “traitors” of his days who disregarded his words which come “from the mouth of God,” and the Priest in the last days and the traitors who will not believe what they will hear from his mouth. The words of the historical Teacher of Righteousness come directly from “the mouth of God.” And the words of the Priest of the present end-time situation (“the final generation”) carry also the same divine authority, since God has appointed him to fulfil the same function the historical Teacher once had fulfilled, namely to “foretell the fulfilment of all the words of the Prophets.”

This text (and several others) allows us to understand clearly that the group which put together the collection of manuscripts inserted itself into the continuous tradition of divine revelation where these writings were growing and taken definite shape as Scripture. The group believed they had the authority to prolong and develop this revelation. (106) Alex Jassen calls this type of interpretation “revelatory exegesis,” and its value as a strategy to confer authority on certain writings is clear. (107)

(4) The Voice of the Teacher

The final strategy that I want to underline is related to what Hindy Najman, in her book *Seconding Sinai*, (108) has called “a discourse linked to founders figures.” This interpretive strategy is closely related to the previous one, and I have dealt with it in a recent article, (109) which I summarize here.

(106) John J. Collins, “Prophecy and Fulfillment in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic Judaism* (JSJSup 54; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

(107) See Alex Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (STDJ 68; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

(108) See n. 50.

(109) F. García Martínez, “Beyond the Sectarian Divide: the ‘Voice of the Teacher’ as authority conferring strategy in some Qumran texts,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*, 227-244.

We can start with text from the *Damascus Document* (110) where the expression appears twice. In CD 20: 27-34 (the concluding section of CD-B) we can read:

... But all those who remain steadfast in these regulations, [co]ming and going in accordance with the law, and listen to the Teacher's voice (קול מורה), and confess before God: "Assuredly have we sinned, both we and our fathers, walking contrary to the ordinances of the covenant; just[ice] and truth are your judgments against us"; and they do not raise their hand against his holy regulation and his just judgment[s] and his truthful stipulations; and they are instructed in the first ordinances, in conformity with which the men of the Unique One were judged; and they lend their ears to the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness (קול מורה צדק); and do not reject the just regulations when they hear them; these shall exalt and rejoice and their heart will be strong, and they shall prevail over the sons of the world. And God will atone for them, and they shall see his salvation, for they have taken refuge in his holy name.

In my opinion, what this text teaches us clearly is that for the members of the group, listening to the "voice of Teacher" is as fundamental as "coming and going in accordance with the law (20:27) "על פי התורה" (which obviously refers to Moses' Torah), and that it is the "voice of the Teacher" that lends authority to the חקי הצדק "the just regulations": "and they lend their ears to the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness, and do not reject the just regulations when they hear them" (20:32-33). It also teaches us that fidelity to both set of norms (the Torah and their own ordinances) is what will bring final salvation. "The Torah" (התורה) and "the just regulations" (חקי הצדק) are clearly different matters, but both are equally authoritative. The strict parallel

(110) For the Cairo Genizah text, see the editions by S. Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Documents of Jewish Sectaries 1; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910); Chaim Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents. Second revised edition* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958); Eduard Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch* (München: Kösel, 1971); Elisha Qimron, in Magen Broshi (ed.), *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992); the DSSSE 1, and Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, "The Damascus Document," in James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume 2* (The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen-Louisville: Mohr-Westminster John Knox, 1995). For the Cave 4 copies, see Joseph M. Baumgarten, *DJD XVIII* (18, cf. notes 11ss). For a reconstruction of the composite document, using the Genizah copies and those from Qumran, see Ben Zion Wacholder, *The New Damascus Document* (STDJ 56; Leiden: Brill, 2007). For a recent commentary, see Stephen Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community* (STDJ 66; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

between the two shows us, it seems to me, that the “voice of the Teacher” is used as a strategy to give authority to the norms of the group, in a similar way as the “voice of Moses,” used in 4Q266 1a-b 15-16 (111) (“and do not listen] to the voice of Moses”) or in 4Q378 26:3 (112) “they pa[y]ed attention to the voice of Mo[ses...],” is employed to express the authority of the revealed Torah.

In the article in question, I showed that this Teacher was called by many names. The text quoted from the CD 20 uses two: Teacher, and Teacher of Righteousness. And, if we follow the reading of the manuscript, a third name מורה היחיד, “Unique Teacher,” is used in the same column 20:1.14. In the “well midrash” on CD 6:7 the Teacher is called “Interpreter of the Torah” (דורש התורה), referring clearly to a figure of the past, while in 4Q174 the “Interpreter of the Law” “will rise up in Zion in the last days.” (113) I also showed that “interpreting the law” is one of the basic characteristic of the *yahad* groups according to 1QS 6:6-7 and concluded “that the ‘voice of the Teacher’ as authority conferring strategy is not limited to the activity of the historical Teacher of Righteousness, the one who represented it eminently, but that it was ‘institutionalized’ within the groups which took their inspiration from this figure and became the channel of a continuous revelation while expecting the final revelation at the end of times.” (114)

As Interpreter of the Law, the “voice of the Teacher” is associated with revealing the hidden aspects of the Torah, the secrets of the divine Law which are not accessible to all Israel but are only revealed to the members of the group. This understanding is expressed with the categories of *nistar* (hidden) and *nigleh* (revealed), which are

(111) *DJD* 18, 31.

(112) *DJD* 22, 261.

(113) We do not need to go into the disputed question of the identity of these two figures here; see, among others, Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, “The Damascus Document Revisited,” *Revue Biblique* 92 (1985): 223-246 and Philip R. Davies, “The Teacher of Righteousness and the ‘End of Days’,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 313-317, for the view that the historical Teacher was identified with “the one who shall teach righteousness at the End of Days,” and Michael A. Knibb, “The Teacher of Righteousness-A Messianic Title?,” in P.R. Davies and R.T. White (eds.), *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays in Jewish and Christian Literature and History* (JSOTSS100; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 51-65, and John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (Anchor Bible Reference; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 102-123, for the distinction of the two figures. Both titles can refer to persons of the past and of the future, and both seem to refer to the same person of the past and the same figure expected in the eschatological future. Collins has most aptly and succinctly summarized the situation: “This usage suggests that such titles as Interpreter of the Law and Teacher of Righteousness could be variously used to refer to figure past or future, and that they are interchangeable.” *The Scepter and the Star*, 104.

(114) “Beyond the Sectarian Divide,” 235.

based on the text of Deut 29:28, but that the central sectarian Scrolls acquire a new meaning, since what is hidden from Israel is revealed to them. (115) As CD 3:12-14 puts it: “But with those who remained steadfast in God’s precepts, with those who were left from among them, God established his covenant with Israel forever, revealing to them hidden matters (להם נסתרות לגלות) in which all Israel had gone astray.” The activity of the Interpreter is to discover these matters which are hidden from Israel and to disclose them to faithful: “And every matter hidden from Israel but which has been found out by the Interpreter, he should not keep hidden from them for fear of a spirit of desertion,” as can we read in 1QS 8:11-12.

An important text for my argument is CD 7:14–19 where the words of Amos 5:26–27 are interpreted this way:

As he said: (Am 5:26–27) “I will deport the Sikkut of your King and the Kiyyun of your images away from my tent to Damascus.” *Blank* The Books of the Law are the Sukkat of the King, as he said (Am 9:11) “I will lift up the fallen Sukkat of David”. *Blank* The King 17 is the assembly (הקהל). <and the Kiyyun of the images> are the books of the Prophets, whose words Israel despised. *Blank* And the star is the Interpreter of the Law, who will come to Damascus.

You will surely have noticed that the quoted text has only two elements (סכות and כיון, whatever these terms may mean in the biblical text), and that the interpretation has three: סוכת, כינוי, and הכוכב. However, if we look at the MT of Amos we find the three terms of the interpretation present because the complete quotation after “and the kiyyun of your images” (ואת כיון צלמיכם) also has “the star of your God” (כוכב אלהיכם). Also in the LXX, which has a somewhat different text that agrees with some elements of the interpretation, the “star” is present: ἀστὴρ τοῦ θεοῦ σου, a good translation of the Hebrew כוכב אלהיכם; which allows us to conclude that “the star” was also in the original quote and has been lost by accident in the medieval copy.

This “Amos Midrash” has been much studied, (116) but what interests me here is the mention of the “Books of the Torah” (ספרי

(115) See the classic explanation of the terms by L. H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 22-32, or the more recent by A. Shemes and C. Werman, “Hidden Things and their Revelation,” *RevQ* 18/71 (1998): 409-427.

(116) The most important studies are collected in n. 66 of S. Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community* (STDJ 66; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 30. The most recent study of which I am aware is by Kelli S. O’Brien, “Runner, Staff, and Star: Interpreting the Teacher of Righteousness Through Scripture,” in *A Teacher for All Generations*, 429-447, particularly 440-445.

התורה) (7:15), the “Books of the Prophets” (7:17) (ספרי הנביאים) and, in a strict parallel, the interpretation of the third element, “the star,” as “the Interpreter of the Torah” (והכוכב הוא דורש התורה) (7:18). The expression “the books of the Torah” refers to group of authoritative writings, acknowledged as such by the “assembly.” The collection designated “the books of the Prophets” is also acknowledged as authoritative, as is clearly reflected in the fact that “Israel” did not follow its words. However, the really surprising element in this quote is the third one, since “the star” is not interpreted as referring to a group of writings, as we would expect, but to a person and to his function: the Interpreter, the person who realizes this exegetical activity, and the object of his interpretation is the Torah. The figure that has this function within the group, the “Interpreter of the Torah,” is thus placed here strictly in parallel with the two collections of writings which are authoritative for the “assembly,” although they are despised by “Israel.” This means, at least to me, that the process of exegesis—the interpretation of the Torah and of the Prophets which this figure represents and exercises—and the results of this interpretation (collected or not in the writings of the group), are considered within the group to be as authoritative as the two other collections of writings, the Torah and the Prophets.

It seems to me highly relevant that in the already quoted text of the *Serek* (1QS 8:11) what the Interpreter finds with his exegesis is precisely כול דבר הנסתר מישראל “every matter hidden from Israel.” What has been hidden from Israel is precisely the aspects of the Law of Moses which have been revealed to the members of the group, as it is explicitly said in 1QS 5:7-10:

Whoever enters the council of the Community enters the covenant of God in the presence of all who freely volunteer. He shall swear with a binding oath to revert to the Law of Moses, according to all that he commanded, with whole heart and whole soul, in compliance with all that has been revealed of it (לכול הנגלה ממנה) to the sons of Zadok (or “to the council of the men of the community” according to the versions from cave 4, 4Q266 and 4Q268), the priests who keep the covenant and interpret his will and to the multitude of the men of their covenant who freely volunteer together for his truth and to walk according to his will.

Equally clear is the wording of CD 3:12-14:

But with those who remained steadfast in God’s precepts, with those who were left from among them, God established his covenant with Israel forever, revealing to them hidden matters (לגלות להם נסתרות) in which all Israel had gone astray.

No wonder both the beginning of the quote from 1QS 8:15 (הַתּוֹרָה הַיָּדוּשׁ מִדְרַשׁ הַיָּדוּשׁ) and the conclusion of the *Damascus Document* (מִדְרַשׁ הַתּוֹרָה הַיָּדוּשׁ), preserved on 4Q270 7 ii 15 and partially on 4Q266 11:20-21) use the word *midrash*, from the same root as that of *doresh*. I think we can conclude that the interpretation which expands and adapts the Torah to the needs of the group and that “reveals” what in the Torah has remain “hidden” from all Israel, and the writing in which these interpretations is registered (as the *Rule* or the *Damascus Document*) are considered within the group or groups which produced them to be as authoritative as the books of the Torah or of the Prophets. (117)

The authority of the Prophets, as the *Serek* says, comes from the inspiration of the divine spirit. The Teacher of Righteousness, like the Interpreter, searches the Torah, the Prophets, and all other writings considered authoritative, and in this task he is assisted by the same divine inspiration which is the origin of those writings. It is this inspiration, this divine revelation, which allows him not only to understand the true meaning of those writings, but to invest new writings with the same authority. Divine revelation, produced by God’s spirit, is now continuously accessible through exegesis which, within the group, reveals the true meaning of Torah for each age.

It is time to close and to summarize the conclusions of this lecture.

After clarifying how I understand the terms “parabiblical” literature (namely, as referring to all compositions of the collections of Qumran, except those which later will be incorporated in Tanak) and “canonical process” (that is, as a development not yet completed in which “canonical” is understood as authoritative or normative), I have tried to show what books were considered authoritative or normative within the collection, presenting four of the authority conferring strategies used for this purpose: Divine authority, rewriting, interpretation, and “the voice of the Teacher.”

My conclusion is that at this time of development in the “canonical process,” all the books which would later form the *Torah*, or the five books of Moses, were clearly recognized as authoritative and

(117) Shemes and Werman, “Hidden Things,” 421, formulate the same thought this way: “What emerges from this imagery is the sect’s conception of revelation of concealed law. This is perceived as taking place via divine inspiration granted to the sect’s leaders: under their tutelage the entire membership of the sect engages in the study and interpretation of Torah.”

normative (and thus “canonical”), and that there was a second group of writings referred to as “the Prophets.” This group of writings, however, is not identical with the *Nebiim* of Tanak, since it also included Daniel and the Psalms.

I have also concluded that other books, too, were considered authoritative and normative (and thus “canonical”). Although the fragmentary preservation of many writings would never allow for firm conclusions, we can be reasonably certain that the *Psalms of Joshua*, *Jubilees*, the *Temple Scroll*, *1 Enoch*, and *ALD*, were also considered authoritative and normative; we can say the same thing of books that are unknown to us, like the *Book of Hagy* and the *Book of Noah*, and perhaps even of other fragmentary preserved compositions as *Pseudo Daniel* (4Q243-246), *Pseudo Jeremiah* and/or *Pseudo Ezekiel* (4Q383-391) who rewrite prophetic narratives. This challenges the view that only the Hebrew Scriptures were considered authoritative traditions. For example, *Jubilees*, the *Temple Scroll* and *ALD* clearly modify positions taken by other Hebrew Scriptures on halakhic issues. *1 Enoch*, the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the *Testament of Qahat* claim a more ancient, distinct, and separate scriptural authority that has not been superseded by the giving of the Torah at Sinai.

I have also concluded that the core “sectarian” compositions (*Pesharim*, *Serakim*, the *Damascus Document*, the *Hodayot*) were also considered authoritative (and thus “canonical”), since the writers of the core “sectarian” compositions saw themselves participating in the same revelatory process which has given them the sacred books of Moses and of the Prophets, as well as the many other revealed writings they were reading, interpreting, rewriting, transforming and adapting to their own needs at the period of history they called **אחרית הימים**.

This need not surprise us, since we know of at least one other Jewish group of approximately the same time that considers authoritative and normative the books of Moses and the Prophets, other ancient books, and their own writings. I am referring, of course, to the members of the nascent Christian groups and early Christians, whose “Scripture” was formed by books recognized as authoritative (what later will become the Old Testament, then of yet imprecise shape), as well as by a whole new collection (then also of imprecise shape) of writings of their own (the New Testament) considered equally authoritative.

Florentino GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ

QUMRAN READINGS IN AGREEMENT WITH THE SEPTUAGINT AGAINST THE MASORETIC TEXT

Part Three: 1 Samuel

Summary

This essay presents a list of the passages in the Qumran manuscripts of 1 Samuel that may be considered in agreement with the Septuagint, against the Masoretic text. In addition, the bibliographic reference to the *editio princeps* of each manuscript, and a brief palaeographical description, is given.

As a follow-up to my previous contributions devoted to the Pentateuch (1) and Joshua-Judges, (2) the present study aims to provide scholars with a tool that will allow for easy consultation of the verses of the book of 1 Samuel in agreement with the Septuagint against the Masoretic text, attested in the manuscripts from Qumran. As noted in earlier studies, (3) the list will hopefully cover the entire Bible in the (near) future.

As in my related, previous studies, (4) the reader will find the appropriate bibliographic references to the *editio princeps* of all of the quoted manuscripts, as well as a brief palaeographical description, at

(1) Corrado Martone, "Qumran Readings in Agreement with the Septuagint against the Masoretic Text. Part One: The Pentateuch," *Hen* 27 (2005): 53-113.

(2) Corrado Martone, "Qumran Readings in Agreement with the Septuagint against the Masoretic Text. Part Two: Joshua—Judges," in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech, and Eibert Tigchelaar; SJSJ 122; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007), 141-145.

(3) Martone, "Qumran Readings One" (above, n. 1), 54.

(4) Martone, "Qumran Readings One" (above, n. 1), 108-113.

the end of this contribution. In addition, the reader may wish to refer to my earlier article in the journal *Henoch* for more detailed bibliographic information (5) as well as the methodological assumptions underlying this project. (6)

It is a pleasure to dedicate this paper to Émile Puech in celebration of the publication of *Revue de Qumrân* 100 and in gratitude for his friendship over the years.

I Samuel 1:13

4QSam^a I b 5-6 (DJD 17:29)

וְהָיָה מְדַבֵּר 6 [עַל לִבָּהּ רַק שִׁפְתֶּיהָ נִעוֹת וְקוֹלָהּ לֹא יִשְׁמָע] וַיַּחֲשֹׁב עַל[י] ל[שְׁכָרָה]

καὶ αὐτὴ ἐλάλει ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς, καὶ τὰ χεῖλη αὐτῆς ἐκινεῖτο, καὶ φωνὴ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἠκούετο· καὶ ἐλογίσατο αὐτὴν Ἡλὶ εἰς μεθόουσιν.

וְהָיָה הִיא מְדַבֵּר עַל-לִבָּהּ רַק שִׁפְתֶּיהָ נִעוֹת וְקוֹלָהּ לֹא יִשְׁמָע | וַיַּחֲשֹׁב עַל-לְשָׁנָהּ:

Textual Notes

καὶ αὐτὴ || וְהָיָה הִיא || Avva LXXmss || והיא

I Samuel 1:23

4QSam^a II a-d 4-6 (DJD 17:31)

וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ אֱלִקָנָה אִישָׁהּ [עָשִׂי הַטוֹב בְּעֵינֶיךָ שְׂבִי עַד 5] גַּמְלֶךָ אוֹתוֹ אֵךְ יָקָם [יְהוָה] הַיּוֹצֵא מִפֶּיךָ וּתְשֹׁב הָאִשָּׁה 6 [וְתִינֶק אֶת בְּנָה עַד גַּמְלָה א] וְתוֹ

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ Ἐλκανα ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς Ποίει τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου· κάθου, ἕως ἂν ἀπογαλακτίσης αὐτό· ἀλλὰ στήσαι κύριος τὸ ἐξελεθὼν ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου. καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἐθήλασεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς, ἕως ἂν ἀπογαλακτίσῃ αὐτόν.

וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ אֱלִקָנָה אִישָׁהּ עָשִׂי הַטוֹב בְּעֵינֶיךָ שְׂבִי עַד-גַּמְלֶךָ אוֹתוֹ אֵךְ יָקָם יְהוָה | אֶת-דְּבָרְךָ וּתְשֹׁב הָאִשָּׁה וְתִינֶק אֶת-בְּנָה עַד-גַּמְלָה אֶתוֹ:

(5) As an *addendum* it is worth noting that a *Biblia Qumranica* series has been launched by Brill. The volume devoted to the Minor Prophets has appeared so far: Beate Ego et al., *Minor Prophets* (Biblia Qumranica 3; Leiden: Brill, 2005). Moreover, in 2010 E. Ulrich published a comprehensive transcription of the evidence for each book of the Hebrew Bible in the Dead Sea Scrolls along with a critical apparatus for each variant reading: Eugene C. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants* (VTSup 134; Leiden: Brill, 2010).

(6) It should be reminded, however, that in the *Textual Notes* are registered *only* the variant readings regarding the LXX: other variant readings, if any, though at the reader's disposal, are not indicated in the *Notes*.

כי בואת יתהלל המתהלל השכל וידע את יהוה³³ [ולעשו] מִשְׁפֹּט וצדקה בתוך
הארץ יהוה עלה בשמים³⁴ [וירעם] יהוה ידן אפסי ארץ ויתן עז למלכנו וירם קרן
משיחו [...] ³⁵ [...]

κύριος ἀσθενῇ ποιήσει ἀντίδικον αὐτοῦ,
κύριος ἅγιος.
μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ φρόνιμος ἐν τῇ φρονήσει αὐτοῦ,
καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ δυνατὸς ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ,
καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ πλούσιος ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ,
ἀλλ' ἡ ἐν τούτῳ καυχάσθω ὁ καυχώμενος,
συνίειν καὶ γινώσκειν τὸν κύριον
καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς.
κύριος ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανούς καὶ ἐβρόντησεν,
αὐτὸς κρινεῖ ἄκρα γῆς
καὶ δίδωσιν ἰσχὺν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἡμῶν
καὶ ὑψώσει κέρας χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.

10 יְהוָה יַתְּתוּ מְרִיבו עָלוֹ [מְרִיבֵיו] עָלוֹ [עָלָיו] בְּשָׁמַיִם יִרְעֵם יְהוָה יָדָיו אַפְסֵי־אֶרֶץ וַיִּתֵּן־עֹז
לְמַלְכּוֹ וַיִּרְם קֶרֶן מְשִׁיחוֹ:

Textual Notes

יְהוָה יַתְּתוּ מְרִיבוּ ㉔ || κύριος ἀσθενῇ ποιήσει ἀντίδικον αὐτοῦ || יהוה יִתֵּן מְרִיבֵיו

1 Samuel 2:16

4QSam^a III a-e 1-5 (DJD 17:39)

¹ וַעֲנֶה הָאִישׁ וְאָמַר אֵל נָעַר הַכֹּהֵן יִקְטֹר הַכֹּהֵן כִּי־הִלְחֵל² [וְקַח לָךְ מִכּוֹל
אֲשֶׁר תֹּאמַר נַפְשָׁךְ וְאָמַר לֹא כִי עֵתָה תִתֵּן וְלֹקֶּךָ [חֲתִי]³ בַּחֹזֶק כְּבַשְׁלָתָהּ] הַבָּשָׂר יִקַּח
אֶת מִזְלַג שְׁלוֹשׁ הַשָּׁנִים [בִּידוֹ וְהִכָּה]⁴ בַּסִּיר אוֹ בַּפֶּרֶךְ [כֹּן־ל] אֲשֶׁר יַעֲלֶה הַמִּזְלַג יִקַּח
אִם [רַע הוּא וְאִם]⁵ טוֹב לְבָד מִחֲ[זֶה הַתְּנוּפָה וְשׁוֹ] ק הַיָּמִין

καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ θύων Θυμιαθήτω πρῶτον, ὡς καθήκει, τὸ
στέαρ, καὶ λαβὲ σεαυτῷ ἐκ πάντων, ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ σου. καὶ
εἶπεν Οὐχί, ὅτι νῦν δώσεις, καὶ ἐὰν μή, λήμψομαι κραταιῶς.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלִיזָה הָאִישׁ קָטֹר יִקְטִירוּן כִּי־הִלְחֵל בְּאֶשֶׁר תֹּאמַר נַפְשָׁךְ וְאָמַר לֹא
[לֹא] כִי עֵתָה תִתֵּן וְאִם־לֹא לִקְחֹתִי בְּחֹזֶקָה:

Textual Notes

בְּאֶשֶׁר ㉔ || ἐκ πάντων, ὧν || מכול אשר

1 Samuel 2:17

4QSam^a III a-e 5-6 (DJD 17:39)

⁵ וַתְּהִי חֲטָאת הַנְּעָרִים⁶ גְּדוּלָה מְאֹד [לִפְנֵי יְהוָה] כִּי נֶאֱצַו אֶת מִנְחַת יְהוָה []

καὶ ἦν ἡ ἁμαρτία τῶν παιδαρίων ἐνώπιον κυρίου μεγάλη σφόδρα,
ὅτι ἠθέτουν τὴν θυσίαν κυρίου.

17 וַתְּהִי חֲטָאת הַנְּעָרִים גְּדוּלָה מְאֹד אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהוָה כִּי נֶאֱצַו הָאֲנָשִׁים אֶת מִנְחַת יְהוָה:

Textual Notes

כִּי נֶאֱצַו הָאֲנָשִׁים אֶת מִנְחַת ㉔ || ὅτι ἠθέτουν τὴν θυσίαν || כי נאצו את מנחת

1 Samuel 2:20

4QSam^a III a-e 9-11 (DJD 17:39)

וְיִבְרַךְ עַל־יָדָי אֶת אֶלְקָנָה וְאֶת אֲשֶׁתָּהּ יִשְׁלֹם יְהוָה לָךְ זֶרַע מִן הָאִשָּׁה
הַזֹּאת תִּחַ [ת] הַשְּׂאֵלָה [לִי] הָיָה וְיִלְךְ הָאִישׁ לְמִקְוֵמוֹ

καὶ εὐλόγησεν Ἡλὶ τὸν Ἐλκανα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ λέγων
Ἀποτεῖσαι σοι κύριος σπέρμα ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ἀντὶ τοῦ
χρέους, οὗ ἔχρησας τῷ κυρίῳ. καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν
τόπον αὐτοῦ,

וַיְבָרֶךְ עֲלֵי אֶת־אֱלֹקָנָה וְאֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ וְאָמַר יְשֹׁם יְהוָה לָךְ זֶרַע מִן־הָאִשָּׁה הַזֹּאת תִּחַת
הַשְּׂאֵלָה אֲשֶׁר שָׂאֵל לִיהוָה וְהָלַכוּ לְמִקְוֵמוֹ:

Textual Notes

וְהָלַכוּ לְמִקְוֵמוֹ || καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ || וְיִלְךְ הָאִישׁ לְמִקְוֵמוֹ

1 Samuel 2:21

4QSam^a III a-e 11-13 (DJD 17:39)

וַיִּפְקֹד יְהוָה אֶת [] חַנָּה וּתְלִיד עוֹד שְׁלֹ[ו] שָׁה בָנִים וּשְׁתֵּי בָנוֹת וַיִּגְדֵּל שָׁם
[שְׁמוּאֵל] [לִפְנֵי יְהוָה] ¹³

καὶ ἐπεσκέψατο κύριος τὴν Ἀνναν, καὶ ἔτεκεν ἑτὶ τρεῖς υἱοὺς καὶ δύο
θυγατέρας. καὶ ἐμεγαλύνθη τὸ παιδάριον Σαμουηλ ἐνώπιον κυρίου.

21 כִּי־פָקֵד יְהוָה אֶת־חַנָּה וְתִלְדָּה וְתִלְדַּת שְׁלֹש־בָּנִים וּשְׁתֵּי בָנוֹת וַיִּגְדֵּל הַנַּעַר שְׁמוּאֵל
עִם־יְהוָה:

Textual Notes

וְתִלְדָּה וְתִלְדָּה || καὶ ἔτεκεν ἑτὶ || כִּי־פָקֵד; וּתְלִיד עוֹד || καὶ ἐπεσκέψατο || וַיִּפְקֹד

1 Samuel 2:22

4QSam^a III a-e 13-14 (DJD 17:39)

[...] וְעַל־זֶקֶן מֵאֵד בֶּן תִּשְׁעִים שָׁנָה [וּשְׁמוּנָה שָׁנִים] ¹⁴ וַיִּשְׁמַע [אֶת] אֲשֶׁר [עוֹ]
שִׁים בָּנוֹ לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

Καὶ Ἡλὶ πρεσβύτης σφόδρα· καὶ ἤκουσεν ἃ ἐποιοῦν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ
τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραηλ,

22 וְעַל־זֶקֶן מֵאֵד וְשָׁמַע אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשׂוּן בָּנָיו לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֶת אֲשֶׁר־יַשְׁכִּבּוּן
אֶת־הַנָּשִׁים הַצִּבְאוֹת פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד:

Textual Notes

|| וְשָׁמַע אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר; [עוֹ] שִׁים בָּנוֹ לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל || καὶ ἤκουσεν ἃ || וַיִּשְׁמַע [אֶת] אֲשֶׁר
|| ἐποιοῦν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραηλ || וְשָׁמַע || וְאֶת אֲשֶׁר־ || יַשְׁכִּבּוּן אֶת־הַנָּשִׁים הַצִּבְאוֹת פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד

1 Samuel 2:25

4QSam^a III a-e 18-20 (DJD 17:39)

18 [אֵם] [חֲטוּא] יַחֲטֵא אִישׁ לְאִישׁ וּפְלִל [לִ] אֵל יְהוָה [וְ] [אֵם] ¹⁹ [לִיהוָה] יַחֲטֵא
אִישׁ מִי וַתִּפְלַל לוֹ וְלֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ לָקוֹל כִּי [חַפ־] ²⁰ [חַפ־] יְהוָה לְהַמִּיתָם

ἐὰν ἁμαρτάνων ἁμάρτη ἀνὴρ εἰς ἄνδρα, καὶ προσεύχονται ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς κύριον· καὶ ἐὰν τῷ κυρίῳ ἁμάρτη, τίς προσεύξεται ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ; καὶ οὐκ ἤκουον τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν, ὅτι βουλόμενος ἐβούλετο κύριος διαφθεῖραι αὐτούς.

אִם-יִחַץ אִישׁ לְאִישׁ וּפָלְלוּ אֱלֹהִים וְאָם לַיהוָה יַחַץ-אִישׁ מִי יִתְפַּלֵּל-לוֹ וְלֹא יִשְׁמַע לְקוֹל אֲבִיהֶם כִּי-חָפֵץ יְהוָה לְהַמִּיתָם:

Textual Notes

וּפָלְלוּ אֱלֹהִים || וְאָם לַיהוָה יַחַץ-אִישׁ מִי יִתְפַּלֵּל-לוֹ || אל יהוה ופללו אֱלֹהִים

1 Samuel 2:27

4QSam^a III a-e 22-24 (DJD 17:39)

22] ויבוא איש אלוהים אל עלי [ו]אמר כה אמר יהוה 23 [נגלה נגליתי אל בית אביך בהיותם במצרים עבדים לבית 24 [פרעה]

καὶ ἦλθεν ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ πρὸς Ηλι καὶ εἶπεν Τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἀποκαλυφθεῖς ἀπεκαλύφθη πρὸς οἶκον πατρός σου ὄντων αὐτῶν ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ δούλων τῷ οἴκῳ Φαραῶ

וַיָּבֹא אִישׁ-אֱלֹהִים אֶל-עֲלִי וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה הִנֵּנִי נִגְלִיתִי אֶל-בֵּית אָבִיךָ בְּהֵיוֹתָם בְּמִצְרַיִם לְבֵית פַּרְעֹה:

Textual Notes

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו || וְאָם לַיהוָה יַחַץ-אִישׁ מִי יִתְפַּלֵּל-לוֹ || ויבוא איש אלוהים אל עלי

1 Samuel 2:28

4QSam^a III a-e 24-26 (DJD 17:39-40)

24] ובחור את בית אביך מכול [שבטי ישראל לי לכוהן 25 [לעלות על מזבחי ולהקטיר קטרת ו]לשאת אפוד ואתנה לבית 26 [אביך את כול אשי בני ישראל לאכ 27]

καὶ ἐξελεξάμην τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρός σου ἐκ πάντων τῶν σκήπτρων Ἰσραὴλ ἐμοὶ ἱερατεῦειν καὶ ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ θυσιαστήριόν μου καὶ θυμιᾶν θυμίαμα καὶ αἵρειν εφουδ καὶ ἔδωκα τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρός σου τὰ πάντα τοῦ πυρὸς υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ εἰς βρῶσιν·

וּבָחַר אֹתוֹ מִכָּל-שִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לִי לְכֹהֵן לְעֹלֹת עֹל-מִזְבְּחִי לְהַקְטִיר קֹטֶרֶת לְשָׂאת אֶפֹּד לְפָנַי וְאֶתְנָה לְבֵית אָבִיךָ אֶת-כָּל-אֲשֵׁי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

Textual Notes

+ || לְשָׂאת אֶפֹּד לְפָנַי וְאֶתְנָה || αἵρειν εφουδ καὶ ἔδωκα || לשאת אפוד ואתנה + ενωπιον μου LXXMss

1 Samuel 2:29

4QSam^a III a-e 26-28 (DJD 17:40)

26 29 ולמה תביט בזבחי ובמנחתי 27 [צרת עין ותכבד את בניך ממני] להזריך מראש כול מנחות 28 [ישראל לפני]

καὶ ἵνα τί ἐπέβλεψας ἐπὶ τὸ θυμίαμά μου καὶ εἰς τὴν θυσίαν μου ἀναιδεῖ ὀφθαλμῶ καὶ ἐδόξασας τοὺς υἱοὺς σου ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ ἐνευλογεῖσθαι ἀπαρχῆς πάσης θυσίας Ἰσραὴλ ἔμπροσθέν μου;

לָמָּה תִּבְעֹטוּ בְּזִכְחִי וּבִמְנַחְתִּי אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי מַעֲוֹן וּתְכַבֵּד אֶת־בְּנֵיךָ מִמֶּנִּי לְהַבְרִיאָכֶם
מִרְאשֵׁית כָּל־מִנְחַת יִשְׂרָאֵל לְעַמִּי:

Textual Notes

לָמָּה תִּבְעֹטוּ ㉔ || τί ἐπέβλεψας || ולמה תביט

1 Samuel 2:32

4QSam^a III a-e 31 (DJD 17:40)

[32 וְהָיָה לְךָ זָקֵן בְּבֵיתִי כֹל הַיָּמִים] 31

καὶ οὐκ ἔσται σου πρεσβύτης ἐν οἴκῳ μου πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας·

וְהִבְטַחְתָּ צֶרֶךְ מַעֲוֹן בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר־יִיטִיב אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְלֹא־יִהְיֶה זָקֵן בְּבֵיתְךָ כָּל־הַיָּמִים:

Textual Notes

בְּבֵיתְךָ ㉔ || ἐν οἴκῳ μου || בביתי

1 Samuel 2:33

4QSam^a III a-e 32-33 (DJD 17:40)

[33 וְאִישׁ לֹא אֲכִרִית לְךָ מֵעַם] מִזִּבְחִי לְכָל־זֶה [ת] עֵינָיו וְ[להדיב] 33 [את נפשו וכול מרבית ביתך] יפולו בחרב אנשים

καὶ ἄνδρα οὐκ ἐξολεθρεύσω σοι ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου μου ἐκλιπεῖν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ καταρρεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶς περισσεύων οἴκου σου πεσοῦνται ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ ἀνδρῶν.

וְאִישׁ לֹא־אֲכִרִית לְךָ מֵעַם מִזִּבְחִי לְכָל־זֶה אֶת־עֵינָיךָ וְלֹא־דִיב אֶת־נַפְשְׁךָ וְכָל־מִרְבִּית בֵּיתְךָ יָמוּתוּ אֲנָשִׁים:

Textual Notes

אֶת־עֵינָיךָ; יפולו בחרב אנשים ㉔ || τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ || עֵינָיו
יָמוּתוּ אֲנָשִׁים ㉔ || ἀνδρῶν ||

1 Samuel 2:36

4QSam^a III a-e 37-39 (DJD 17:40)

[36 וְהָיָה כִּי הָיִיתָ הַנּוֹתָר בְּבֵיתְךָ] 38 [יבוא להשתחות לו לאגרות כסף וככר לח] 37
[לאמור [ספחני נא] 39 [אל אחת הכהנות לאכול פת לחם יהוה]

καὶ ἔσται ὁ περισσεύων ἐν οἴκῳ σου ἥξει προσκυνεῖν αὐτῷ ὀβολοῦ ἄργυρίου λέγων Παράρριψόν με ἐπὶ μίαν τῶν ἱερατειῶν σου φαγεῖν ἄρτον.

וְהָיָה כִּי־הִנּוּתָּר בְּבֵיתְךָ יָבוֹא לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹת לוֹ לְאִגְרוֹת כֶּסֶף וּכְכָר־לֶחֶם וְאָמַר סִפְחָנִי
נָא אֶל־אַחַת הַכֹּהֲנוֹת לֶאֱכֹל פֶּת־לֶחֶם:

Textual Notes

וְאָמַר ㉔ || λέγων || לאמור

1 Samuel 5:8

4QSam^a V b-c 1-4 (DJD 17:49)

1 [...] וַיִּשְׁלַחוּ וַיֹּאמְרוּ [פ]ו את סרני פלשתיים אליהם] 2 [ויאמרו מה נעשה] לארון
אלוהי ישראל ויאמרו הגתיים] 3 [י]סבו א[ת ארון א]לוהי ישר[אל אלינו ויסבו את
ארון אלוהי] 4 [ישראל ג[תה]

καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν καὶ συνάγουσιν τοὺς σατράπας τῶν ἀλλοφύ-
λων πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγουσιν Τί ποιήσωμεν κιβωτῷ θεοῦ Ἰσραηλ;
καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ Γεθθαῖοι Μετελθέτω κιβωτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς·
καὶ μετῆλθεν κιβωτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς Γεθθα.

וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֶת־כְּלִסְרְנֵי פְלִשְׁתִּים אֲלֵיהֶם וַיֹּאמְרוּ מִה־נַּעֲשֶׂה לְאָרוֹן אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
וַיֹּאמְרוּ גַּת יִסְבּוּ אֶרֶן אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּסְבּוּ אֶת־אָרוֹן אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

Textual Notes

ג[תה] || εἰς Γεθθα || > א

1 Samuel 5:10

4QSam^a V b-c 7 - VI a-b 1-2 (DJD 17:49.51)

7 וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ [א]ת ארון אלוהי ישראל לְעָקְרוֹן ויהי כבוא ארון] 1 [האלוהים עקרון
ויועקו העקרוני]ם לֹא[מור] למה הסבות]ם אלי] 2 [את ארון אלוהי ישראל להמית
נִי וְאֵת עַמִּי

καὶ ἐξαποστέλλουσιν τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς Ἀσκαλῶνα, καὶ
ἐγενήθη ὥς εἰσηλθεν κιβωτὸς θεοῦ εἰς Ἀσκαλῶνα, καὶ ἐβόησαν
οἱ Ἀσκαλωνῖται λέγοντες Τί ἀπεστρέψατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν κιβωτὸν
τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰσραηλ θανατῶσαι ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἡμῶν;

וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ אֶת־אָרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים עֲקָרוֹן וַיְהִי כְּבֹא אָרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים עֲקָרוֹן וַיַּעֲקְרוּ הָעֲקָרָנִים
לֵאמֹר הִסְבּוּ אֵלַי אֶת־אָרוֹן אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַמִּיתֵנִי וְאֶת־עַמִּי:

Textual Notes

הִסְבּוּ א || Τί ἀπεστρέψατε || למה הסבות]ם

1 Samuel 6:3

4QSam^a VI a-b 9-12 (DJD 17:51)

9 וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֲ[ם] 10 [משלחים אתם את ארון] בְּרִית יהוה אלוהי ישראל אל תשל[חן]
11 [אותו ריקם כי השב ת]שיב[ו] לֹא א[ש]ם אז תרפא[ו] ו[נ]כפר ל[כם] 12 [הלוא
תסור ידו מכם]

καὶ εἶπαν Εἰ ἐξαποστέλλετε ὑμεῖς τὴν κιβωτὸν διαθήκης κυρίου
θεοῦ Ἰσραηλ, μὴ δὴ ἐξαποστείλητε αὐτὴν κενήν, ἀλλὰ ἀποδίδόν-
τες ἀπόδοτε αὐτῇ τῆς βασάνου, καὶ τότε ἰαθήσεσθε, καὶ ἐξιλασ-
θήσεται ὑμῖν, μὴ οὐκ ἀποστῇ ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ἀφ' ὑμῶν.

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֲמִם־מְשִׁלְחִים אֶת־אָרוֹן אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־תְּשַׁלְּחוּ אֹתוֹ רִיקָם כִּי־תִשָּׁב תְּשִׁיבוּ
לֹא אֲשֶׁם אִם תִּרְפְּאוּ וְנִכְפַּר לָכֶם לָמָּה לֹא־תִסְרוּ יָדוֹ מִכֶּם:

Textual Notes

ג[תה] || διαθήκης κυρίου || > א בְּרִית יהוה

1 Samuel 6:4

4QSam^a VI a-b 12-14 (DJD 17:51)

12 [וַיֹּאמְרוּ מִהֶהָאִשָּׁם [א] שֶׁר נִשְׁ[י]ב ל[ו] וַיֹּאמְרוּ] 13 [כַּמֶּסֶפֶר סֵרְנִי פִלְשֵׁתִים
חֲמִשָּׁה] עֲפֹלִי זֶה־בִּי כִי מִגִּפָּה אַחַת לָ[כֶם] 14 [וּלְסֵרְנִיכֶם]
καὶ λέγουσιν Τί τὸ τῆς βασάνου ἀποδώσομεν αὐτῇ; καὶ εἶπαν
Κατ' ἀριθμὸν τῶν σατραπῶν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων πέντε ξδρας
χρυσᾶς, ὅτι πταῖσμα ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὑμῶν καὶ τῷ
λαῷ,
וַיֹּאמְרוּ מִהֶהָאִשָּׁם אֲשֶׁר נָשִׁיב לִוַּי וַיֹּאמְרוּ מִסֶּפֶר סֵרְנִי פִלְשֵׁתִים חֲמִשָּׁה עֲפֹלִי [טַחֲרִי]
זֶה־בִּי וְחֲמִשָּׁה עֲכָבְרִי זֶה־בִּי כִי־מִגִּפָּה אַחַת לְכֻלָּם וּלְסֵרְנֵיכֶם:

Textual Notes

וְחֲמִשָּׁה עֲכָבְרִי זֶה־בִּי + 𐤒𐤓 || 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤕𐤔𐤓 || πέντε ξδρας χρυσᾶς] עֲפֹלִי זֶה־בִּי

1 Samuel 6:20

4QSam^a VII a 1-2 (DJD 17:56)

1 20 וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֲנָשֵׁי בֵּית שֹׁמֶשׁ מִי יוּכַל לַעֲבֹר לַפָּנִי יְהוָה הַקְדֹּשׁ הַזֶּה וְאֵל מִי 2 [יַעֲלֶה
אֶרֶץ יְהוָה מֵעֵלֵינוּ]
καὶ εἶπαν οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐκ Βαιθσαμυς Τίς δυνήσεται διελθεῖν ἐνὶ-
πριον κυρίου τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου; καὶ πρὸς τίνα ἀναβήσεται κιβωτὸς
κυρίου ἂφ' ἡμῶν;
וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֲנָשֵׁי בֵּית־שֹׁמֶשׁ מִי יוּכַל לַעֲמֹד לְפָנַי יְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים הַקְדֹּשׁ הַזֶּה וְאֵל־מִי יַעֲלֶה
מֵעֵלֵינוּ:

Textual Notes

יְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים הַקְדֹּשׁ הַזֶּה 𐤒𐤓 || κυρίου τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου || יְהוָה הַקְדֹּשׁ הַזֶּה

1 Samuel 8:18

4QSam^a VIII a-b 9-11 (DJD 17:58)

9 18 וַיִּזְעַקְתֶּם בַּיּוֹם 10 הַהוּא [מ] לַפָּנִי מִלְּ[כ] כֹּה־אֲשֶׁר בַּחֲרַתֶּם לָכֶם וְלֹא יַעֲנֶה יְהוָה
אֶתְכֶם בַּיּוֹמִים 11 הָאֵלֶּה [כִּי אַתֶּם בַּחֲרַתֶּם לָכֶם מֶלֶךְ]
καὶ βοήσεσθε ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐκ προσώπου βασιλέως ὑμῶν,
οὗ ἐξελέξασθε ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ οὐκ ἐπακούσεται κύριος ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖς
ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἐξελέξασθε ἑαυτοῖς βασιλέα.
וַיִּזְעַקְתֶּם בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא מִלְּפָנַי מִלְּכֻכְּכֶם אֲשֶׁר בַּחֲרַתֶּם לָכֶם וְלֹא־יַעֲנֶה יְהוָה אֶתְכֶם בַּיּוֹם
הַהוּא:

Textual Notes

בַּיּוֹם 𐤒𐤓 || ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις || בַּיּוֹם

1 Samuel 9:18

4QSam^a IX a-d 3-4 (DJD 17:61)

3 18 וַיִּגַּשׁ שְׂאוּל אֶל [שְׂמוּאֵל בַּתּוֹךְ הָעֵינִי וַיֹּאמֶר] הֲגִידָה נָא אֵי זֶה בֵּית 4 [הַרוּאָה]

καὶ προσήγαγεν Σαουλ πρὸς Σαμουηλ εἰς μέσον τῆς πόλεως καὶ εἶπεν Ἀπάγγελον δὴ ποῖος ὁ οἶκος τοῦ βλέποντος.

וַיָּגֶשׁ שְׂאוּל אֶת־שְׂמוּאֵל בְּתוֹךְ הַשָּׂעַר וַיֹּאמֶר הֲגִידָה־נָּא לִי אֵיזוֹה בֵּית הָרֹאֶה:

Textual Notes

בְּתוֹךְ הַשָּׂעַר אֵל || εἰς μέσον τῆς πόλεως || בתוך העיר

1 Samuel 9:19

4QSam^a IX a-d 4-5 (DJD 17:61)

⁴ [¹⁹וַיַּעַן שְׂמוּאֵל אֶת שְׂאוּל וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ אֲנוּכִי הִנֵּה עָלָה [לפני הבמה ואכל] ⁵ עִמִּי הַיּוֹם וּשְׁלַחְתִּיךָ בְּבָקָר וְכוּל אֲשֶׁר בַּלְבָּבְךָ אֲנִיד] לך]

καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Σαμουηλ τῷ Σαουλ καὶ εἶπεν Ἐγὼ εἰμι αὐτός· ἀνάβηθι ἔμπροσθέν μου εἰς Βαμα καὶ φάγε μετ' ἐμοῦ σήμερον, καὶ ἐξαποστελῶ σε πρὸς καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ἀπαγγελῶ σοι·

וַיַּעַן שְׂמוּאֵל אֶת־שְׂאוּל וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנוּכִי הִנֵּה עָלָה לְפָנַי הַבִּמָּה וְאָכַלְתָּם עִמִּי הַיּוֹם וּשְׁלַחְתִּיךָ בְּבָקָר וְכוּל אֲשֶׁר בַּלְבָּבְךָ אֲנִיד לְךָ:

Textual Notes

אֲנוּכִי הִנֵּה עָלָה אֵל || Ἐγὼ εἰμι αὐτός || אנוכי ה'א

1 Samuel 10:4

4QSam^a IX e-i 3-4 (DJD 17:63)

³ [⁴וּשְׂאוּלוֹ לֶךְ לְשָׁלוֹם וְנָתַנו לְךָ תְּנוּפּוֹת לַחַם וּלְקַחַת ⁴ [מִידָם]

καὶ ἐρωτήσουσίν σε τὰ εἰς εἰρήνην καὶ δώσουσίν σοι δύο ἀπαρχὰς ἄρτων, καὶ λήμψῃ ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν.

וּשְׂאוּלֵי לֶךְ לְשָׁלוֹם וְנָתַנו לְךָ שְׁתֵּי־לָחֶם וּלְקַחַת מִיָּדָם:

Textual Notes

לֶךְ שְׁתֵּי־לָחֶם אֵל || δύο ἀπαρχὰς ἄρτων || ת'נפוט לחם

1 Samuel 10:25

4QSam^a X a 2-3 (DJD 17:65)

² [²⁵וַיְדַבֵּר שְׂמוּאֵל אֶל הָעָם אֵת [מִשְׁפָּט הַמֶּלֶךְ וּיְכַתֵּב בְּסֵפֶר וַיֵּנַח לְפָנַי יְהוָה] ³ [וַיִּשְׁלַח שְׂמוּאֵל אֵת כֹּוֹל הָעָם וַיָּלְכוּ אִישׁ לְמִקְוֹמֹו]

καὶ εἶπεν Σαμουηλ πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἔγραψεν ἐν βιβλίῳ καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐνώπιον κυρίου. καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν Σαμουηλ πάντα τὸν λαόν, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ.

וַיְדַבֵּר שְׂמוּאֵל אֶל־הָעָם אֵת מִשְׁפַּט הַמֶּלֶכָה וַיְכַתֵּב בְּסֵפֶר וַיֵּנַח לְפָנַי יְהוָה וַיִּשְׁלַח שְׂמוּאֵל אֶת־כָּל־הָעָם אִישׁ לְבֵיתֹו:

Textual Notes

לְבֵיתֹו אֵל || εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ || למקומו || אֵל > || ἀπῆλθεν || וילכו

1 Samuel 10:26

4QSam^a X a 3-4 (DJD 17:65)

3 [וג²⁶] ה' אלוהיך לבייתו גבעתה 4 [וילכו] בני החיל אשר נגע יהוה בלבבם
 και Σαουλ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ εἰς Γαβαα· και ἐπορεύθη-
 σαν υἱοὶ δυνάμεων, ὃν ἤψατο κύριος καρδίας αὐτῶν, μετὰ Σαουλ.
 וגם־שׂאול הלך לבייתו גבעתה וילכו עמו החיל אשר־נגע אלהים בלבבם:

Textual Notes

אלהים אשׁ || κύριος || יהוה; אשׁ > || υἱοὶ δυνάμεων || בני החיל

1 Samuel 10:27

4QSam^a X a 4-9 (DJD 17:65-66)

4 27 ובני הבליעל א[מרו] מ[ה] יושיענו 5 [זה רי]בווהו ולוא הביאו לו מנחה 6 [וג]
 חש מלך בני עמון הוא לחץ את בני גד ואת בני ראובן בחזקה ונקר להם כ[ול]
 7 [ע]ין ימין ונתן אין [מושי]ע ל[י]שראל ולוא נשאר איש בבני ישראל אשר בע[בר]
 הירדן 8 [אש]ר ל[וא] נ[ק]ר לו נח[ש] מלך [בני] ע[מון] כול עין ימין ו[ה]ן שבעת
 אלפים איש 9 א[י]היה כמו חדש

και υἱοὶ λοιμοὶ εἶπαν Τί σώσει ἡμᾶς οὗτος; και ἡτίμασαν αὐτὸν
 και οὐκ ἤνεγκαν αὐτῷ δῶρα.

ובני בליעל אמרו מה־ישענו זה ויבזהו ולא־הביאו לו מנחה ויהי כמחריש:

Textual Notes

ויהי כמחריש + אשׁ || οὐκ ἤνεγκαν αὐτῷ δῶρα || ולוא הביאו לו מנחה

1 Samuel 11:8

4QSam^a X b-c 3-4 (DJD 17:67)

3 [ויפקדם בבוק בבמה כול איש ישראל שש מאות אלף ואיש יהודה] 4 שבעים
 אלף

και ἐπισκέπτεται αὐτοὺς Αβιεζεκ ἐν Βαμα, πᾶν ἄνδρα Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ-
 α-κοσίας χιλιάδας και ἄνδρας Ἰουδα ἐβδομήκοντα χιλιάδας.

ויפקדם בבוק ויהי בני־ישראל שלש מאות אלף ואיש יהודה שלשים אלף:

Textual Notes

שלשים אלף אשׁ || ἐβδομήκοντα χιλιάδας || שבעים אלף

1 Samuel 14:29

4QSam^a 3-5 2-4 (DJD 17:73)

2 [יודע] 3 ויאמר יהונתן עכור {} אבי אנת הארץ [ראו כי ארו עיני כי
 טעמתי] 4 מעט הדבש הזה

και ἔγνω Ἰωνathan και εἶπεν Ἀπήλλαχεν ὁ πατήρ μου τὴν γῆν· ἰδὲ
 δὴ ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου, ὅτι ἐγευσάμην βραχὺ τοῦ μέλιτος
 τούτου·

ויאמר יונתן עקר אבי את־הארץ רא־נא כי־ארו עיני כי טעמתי מעט דבש הזה:

Textual Notes

מַעֲט דָּבַשׁ הָיָה אֵל ॥ βραχὺ τοῦ μέλιτος τούτου ॥ מעט הדבש הזה

I Samuel 14:47

4QSam^a 6 1-2 (DJD 17:75)

⁴⁷ 1 על ישראל וילחם סביב ב[כול איביו במוא]ב ובבני עמון ובאדום] ² ובמלך צובה ובפלשתיים ובכול אשר יפנה [יושיע]

Kaì Σαουλ κατακληροῦται ἔργον ἐπὶ Ἰσραηλ. καὶ ἐπολέμει κύκλῳ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸν Μωαβ καὶ εἰς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἀμμων καὶ εἰς τοὺς υἱοὺς Εδωμ καὶ εἰς τὸν Βαιθεωρ καὶ εἰς βασιλέα Σουβα καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους· οὗ ἂν ἐστράφη, ἐσφύζετο.

וְשָׂאוֹל לָכֵד הַמְּלֹכָה עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּלָּחֶם סָבִיב | בְּכָל־אֹיְבָיו בְּמוֹאָב | וּבְבָנֵי־עַמּוֹן וּבְאֲדוֹם וּבְמַלְכֵי צוּבָה וּבְפְלִשְׁתִּים וּבְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־יִפְנֶה יָרְשִׁיעַ:

Textual Notes

ובמלכי ॥ εἰς βασιλέα ॥ ובמלך

I Samuel 14:50

4QSam^a 6 5-6 (DJD 17:75)

⁵⁰ 5 [שם אשת שׁאול אחינעם בת אחימעץ ושם] ⁶ שר הצבא [אבינר] ב[נר] דוד שאול [נר]

καὶ ὄνομα τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀχινοομ θυγάτηρ Ἀχιμαας. καὶ ὄνομα τῷ ἀρχιστρατήγῳ Ἀβεννηρ υἱὸς Νηρ υἱοῦ οἰκείου Σαουλ·

וְשֵׁם אִשְׁתּוֹ שְׂאוֹל אַחִינֹעַם בַּת־אֲחִימֶעֶץ וְשֵׁם שָׂר־צִבְאוֹ אֲבִינֵר בֶּן־נֵר דּוֹד שְׂאוֹל:

Textual Notes

שר הצבא ॥ שר־צבאו ॥ του αρχιστρατεγου αυτου LXXMss ॥ שר הצבא

I Samuel 15:27

4QSam^a 8-10 a-b, 11 4-5 (DJD 17:77)

²⁷ 4 [ויסב שמואל ללכת] ⁵ [יחזק שאול] [בכנף מעילו ויעצר ויקרעהו]

καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν Σαμουηλ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν. καὶ ἐκράτησεν Σαουλ τοῦ περυγίου τῆς διπλοῖδος αὐτοῦ καὶ διέρρηξεν αὐτό·

וַיִּסָּב שְׂמוּאֵל לָלֶכֶת וַיִּחָזֶק בְּכַנְף־מְעִילוֹ וַיִּקְרַע:

Textual Notes

שאול ॥ Σαουλ ॥ > ॥ שמואל

I Samuel 15:29

4QSam^a 8-10 a-b, 11 6-7 (DJD 17:77)

²⁹ 6 [גם [יחצה ישראל לשנים] ⁷ [ולו] א' ישוב [ולוא] ינחם כ[י לוא אדם ה]א' ⁹ לה[נחם]

καὶ διαιρεθήσεται Ἰσραὴλ εἰς δύο, καὶ οὐκ ἀποστρέψει οὐδὲ μετανοήσει, ὅτι οὐχ ὥς ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν τοῦ μετανοῆσαι αὐτός.

וְגַם יִצְחָק יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא יִשְׁקֹר וְלֹא יִנָּחֵם כִּי לֹא אָדָם הוּא לְהִנָּחֵם:

Textual Notes

יִשְׁקֹר וְ || ἀποστρέψει || ישוב

I Samuel 15:31

4QSam^a 8-10 a-b, 11 9 (DJD 17:77)

9 [י³¹י] שׁוּב שׁמוֹ [א] לִ [אח] רִי [שׁאוּל וישׁת] חו ליהוה []

καὶ ἀνέστρεψεν Σαμουὴλ ὀπίσω Σαουλ, καὶ προσεκύνησεν τῷ κυρίῳ.

וַיָּשׁוּב שְׁמוּאֵל אַחֲרֵי שְׁאֹל וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ שְׁאֹל לַיהוָה:

Textual Notes

שְׁאֹל + וְ || καὶ προσεκύνησεν || וישׁת[חו]

I Samuel 16:4

4QSam^b 4 3-4 (DJD 17:226)

3 [ייעש שמואל את אשר דבר יהוה ויבא בית לחם ויחרדו וקני העיר לקראתו ויאמרו השלם בואך] 4 הראה

καὶ ἐποίησεν Σαμουὴλ πάντα, ἃ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ κύριος, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Βηθλεεμ. καὶ ἐξέστησαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῆς πόλεως τῇ ἀπαντήσῃ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπαν Εἰρήνη ἡ εἰσοδός σου, ὃ βλέπων

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וַיַּעַשׂ שְׁמוּאֵל אֶת אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה וַיָּבֹא בֵּית לָחֶם וַיַּחֲרְדּוּ וַקְנִי הָעִיר לְקִרְאָתוֹ וַיֹּאמְרוּ שְׁלֹם בּוֹאֶךָ

Textual Notes

וְ || ὃ βλέπων || הראה

I Samuel 17:4

4QSam^a 12-14 2-3 (DJD 17:78)

2 [ו¹⁴] יִצְאָ אִישׁ [הבנים ממערכות פלשתיים גלית שמו מגת גבהו] אֲרִבְעָ [א] מות חרת

καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἀνὴρ δυνατὸς ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, Γολιᾶθ ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἐκ Γεθ, ὕψος αὐτοῦ τεσσάρων πήχεων καὶ σπιθαμῆς.

4 וַיֵּצֵא אִישׁ־הַבָּנִים מִמַּחֲנֵה פְּלִשְׁתִּים גִּלְיָת שְׁמוֹ מִגַּת גִּבְהוֹ שֵׁשׁ אַמּוֹת וַחֲרָת: 5 וְכֹבֵעַ נָחֲשֶׁת עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ וְשַׁרְיֹן קֶשֶׁת וְחֹמֶשׁ הָיָה לְבֹשׁוֹ וּמִשְׁקַל הַשַּׁרְיֹן הַמְשֶׁת־אֲלָפִים שְׁקָלִים נְחֹשֶׁת:

Textual Notes

וְ || שֵׁשׁ || εξ LXXMss || τεσσάρων || אֲרִבְעָ

1 Samuel 20:26

4QSam^b 6-7 1 (DJD 17:230)

1 כי לא טהר

καὶ οὐκ ἐλάλησεν Σαουλ οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, ὅτι εἶπεν Σύμπτωμα φαίνεται μὴ καθαρὸς εἶναι, ὅτι οὐ κεκαθάρισται.

וְלֹא־דָבַר שְׁאוּל מְאוּמָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא כִּי אָמַר מִקְרָה הוּא בִלְתִּי טָהוֹר הוּא כִּי־לֹא טָהוֹר:

Textual Notes

כִּי־לֹא טָהוֹר אֵל || ὅτι οὐ κεκαθάρισται || כי לא טהר

1 Samuel 20:27

4QSam^b 6-7 1-2 (DJD 17:230)

1 27 וַיְהִי־יְמֵי מַמְחָרֹת הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁנִי וַיִּפְקֹד מֶקֶם [דוד ויאמר שאול אל יונתן בנו מדוע לא בא בן ישי גם תמל] 2 גם היום על השלחן

καὶ ἐγενήθη τῇ ἐπαύριον τοῦ μηνὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ ἐπεσκέπη ὁ τόπος τοῦ Δαυιδ, καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ πρὸς Ἰωναθαν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Τί ὅτι οὐ παραγέγονεν ὁ υἱὸς Ἰεσσαὶ καὶ ἐχθὲς καὶ σήμερον ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν;

וַיְהִי מִמָּוֶת הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁנִי וַיִּפְקֹד מֶקֶם דָּוִד וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁאוּל אֶל־יֹנָתָן בְּנֵי־יְמֵי לֹא־בָא בֶן־יִשִּׁי גַם־תַּמּוֹל גַּם־הַיּוֹם אֶל־הַלֶּחֶם:

Textual Notes

אֶל־הַלֶּחֶם אֵל || ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν || על השלחן

1 Samuel 20:29

4QSam^b 6-7 2-4 (DJD 17:230)

2 [29 ויאמר שלחני נא כי זבח] 3 למשפחה לנו בעיר ואני צו לי אחי ועתה אם נא מצאתי [חן בעיניך אמלטה נא ואראה את אחי על כן לא בא על שלחן] 4 המלך

καὶ εἶπεν Ἐξαπόστειλον δὴ με, ὅτι θυσία τῆς φυλῆς ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐνετείλαντο πρὸς με οἱ ἀδελφοί μου, καὶ νῦν εἰ εὕρηκα χάριν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου, διασωθήσομαι δὴ καὶ ὄψομαι τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου· διὰ τοῦτο οὐ παραγέγονεν ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῦ βασιλέως.

וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁלַחְנִי נָא כִּי זֶבֶחַ מִשְׁפָּחָה לָּנוּ בְּעִיר וְהוּא צִוָּה־לִּי אָחִי וְעַתָּה אִם־מִצָּאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ אִמְלֹטָהּ נָא וְאִרְאֶה אֶת־אָחִי עַל־כֵּן לֹא־בָא אֶל־שְׁלַחַן הַמֶּלֶךְ:

Textual Notes

מִשְׁפָּחָה לָּנוּ אֵל || τῆς φυλῆς ἡμῶν || למשפחה לנו

1 Samuel 20:30

4QSam^b 6-7 4 (DJD 17:230)

4 30 ויחר אף שאול ביונתן מאד ויאמר לו בן נערו המרדת [הלא ידעתי כי חבר אתה לבן ישי לבשת ערות אמך]

καὶ ἐθυμώθη ὁργῇ Σαουλ ἐπὶ Ἰωναθαν σφόδρα καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Υἱὲ κορασίων αὐτομολούντων, οὐ γὰρ οἶδα ὅτι μέτοχος εἶ σὺ τῷ υἱῷ Ἰεσσαὶ εἰς αἰσχύνην σου καὶ εἰς αἰσχύνην ἀποκαλύψεως μητρὸς σου;

וַיַּחֲרֹאף שְׂאוּל בִּיהוֹנָתָן וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ בְּיָנֵצְנוֹת הַמִּרְדּוֹת הָלָא יָדַעְתִּי כִּי־בָחַר אֹתָהּ לְבָךְ יִשִּׁי לְבָשְׁתָּהּ וּלְבָשֶׁת עֲרֹנָת אִמִּי:

Textual Notes

מאד || σφόδρα || > א

1 Samuel 20:34

4QSam^b 6-7 7 (DJD 17:230)

7 וַיִּפְחֹץ יוֹנָתָן מֵעַל הַשֶּׁלֶחַן בַּחֲרִי אֵף וְלֹא אָכַל בַּיּוֹם הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשֵּׁנִי לַחַם [כִּי נִצָּב עַל דּוֹד כִּי כָלָה עָלָיו אֲבִיו]

καὶ ἀνεπήδησεν Ἰωναθαν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ἐν ὁργῇ θυμοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγεν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τοῦ μηνὸς ἄρτον, ὅτι ἐθραύσθη ἐπὶ τὸν Δαυὶδ, ὅτι συνετέλεσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ.

וַיָּקָם יְהוֹנָתָן מִמַּעַם הַשֶּׁלֶחַן בַּיּוֹם הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשֵּׁנִי לַחֶם כִּי נִצָּב אֶל־דָּוִד כִּי הִכְלִמוֹ אָבִיו:

Textual Notes

מָעַם א || ἀπὸ || וַיָּקָם; מֵעַל א || καὶ ἀνεπήδησεν || וַיִּפְחֹץ

1 Samuel 20:36

4QSam^b 6-7 8-9 (DJD 17:230)

8 וַיֹּאמֶר לְנֹעַר רוּחַ קָם אֵת הַ[חָץ אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מוֹרָה וְהַנֶּעַר רָץ וְהוּא יָרָה הַחָץ לְהַעֲבִירָו] 9 הָעִירָה

καὶ εἶπεν τῷ παιδαρίῳ Δράμε, εὐρέ μοι τὰς σχίζας, ἐν αἷς ἐγὼ ἀκοντίζω· καὶ τὸ παιδάριον ἔδραμε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἠκόντιζε τῇ σχίζῃ καὶ παρήγαγεν αὐτήν.

וַיֹּאמֶר לְנֹעָרוֹ רָץ מִצָּא נָא אֶת־הַחֲצִים אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מוֹרָה הַנֶּעַר רָץ וְהוּא־יָרָה הַחֲצִי לְהַעֲבָרוֹ:

Textual Notes

לְנֹעָרוֹ א || τῷ παιδαρίῳ || לְנֹעַר

1 Samuel 23:14

4QSam^b 10-23 6 (DJD 17:241)

6 [וַיֹּשֶׁב דָּוִד בַּמִּדְבָּר בַּמִּצְדָּת וַיִּשְׁכַּח בְּהָר בַּעֲרָב זִי[וְהַיָּבֶשֶׁת שָׂאוּל כָּל הַיָּמִין] 6
Καὶ ἐκάθισεν Δαυὶδ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐν Μασερεμ [וְהָיָה בֵּידוֹ] וְלֹא נָתַן יְהוָה בְּיָדוֹ
ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς καὶ ἐκάθητο ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Ζιφ ἐν τῇ γῇ
τῇ αὐχμώδει· καὶ ἐζήτηει αὐτὸν Σαουλ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας, καὶ οὐ
παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν κύριος εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ.

וַיָּשָׁב דָּוִד בְּמִדְבָּר בְּמִצְדֹת וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּהָר בְּמִדְבַר-יֶרֶךְ וַיִּבְקֶשְׁהוּ שְׂאוּל כָּל-הַיָּמִים
וְלֹא-נִתְּנוּ אֱלֹהִים בְּיָדוֹ:

Textual Notes

אֱלֹהִים מ̄ ⲓ ⲛ ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ || יה[וה]

1 Samuel 23:16

4QSam^b 10-23 7-8 (DJD 17:241)

7 [יִרְקִים יִנְתֵּן בֶּן שְׂאוּל] לֵךְ אֶל [דָּוִד] 8 [חֲרָשָׁה יַחֲזֹק אֶת יָדוֹ בִּיהוּ]
 καὶ ἀνέστη Ἰωναθάν υἱὸς Σαουλ καὶ ἐπορεύθη πρὸς Δαυὶδ εἰς
 Καϊνὴν καὶ ἐκραταίωσεν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐν κυρίῳ.

וַיִּקְרָם יְהוֹנָתָן בֶּן־שָׁאוּל וַיִּלָּךְ אֶל־דָּוִד חֶרֶשׁ הָיָה וַיַּחֲזֵק אֶת־יָדוֹ בְּאַלְהֵיִם:

Textual Notes

בְּאֱלֹהִים ॥ ἐν κυρίῳ ॥ ביהו[ה]

1 Samuel 25:3

4QSam^a 29-33 1 (DJD 17:86)

1 מַעֲלִילִים וְהָאִישׁ כִּלְבִּי [י]

καὶ ὄνομα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ Ναβαλ, καὶ ὄνομα τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Αβι-
γαϊα· καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὴ συνέσει καὶ καλῇ τῷ εἶδει σφόδρα,
καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος σκληρὸς καὶ πονηρὸς ἐν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, καὶ ὁ
ἄνθρωπος κυνικός.

וְשֵׁם הָאִישׁ נֹכַח וְשֵׁם אִשְׁתּוֹ אֲבִיגַיִל וְהָאִשָּׁה טוֹבַת-שָׁלָל יוֹפֶת תָּאֵר וְהָאִישׁ קָשָׁה וְרַע מַעֲלָלִים וְהוּא כָּלְבוֹ [כְּלָבִי]:

Textual Notes

וְהָיָא ॥ καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ॥ וְהָיָא

1 Samuel 27:10

4QSam^a 43 3-4 (DJD 17:93)

3 [10י] אמר אכיש על מִי פשטתם היום ויאמר⁴ [דויד על נגב יהודה] ואל נגב ירח־מ[אֶל ועל נגב־] [הקנוי]

καὶ εἶπεν Ἀγγους πρὸς Δαυὶδ Ἐπὶ τίνα ἐπέθεσθε σήμερον; καὶ εἶπεν Δαυὶδ πρὸς Ἀγγους Κατὰ νότον τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ κατὰ νότον Ἰεσμεγα καὶ κατὰ νότον τοῦ Κενεζι.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲכִישׁ אֶל-פֶּשֶׁטְתָּם הַיּוֹם וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד עַל-נַגֵּב יְהוּדָה וְעַל-נַגֵּב הַיַּרְחָמָאִלִּי וְאֶל-נַגֵּב הַקִּינִי:

Textual Notes

עַל מִי ॥ Ἐπὶ τίνα ॥ אֶל-פְּשָׁטָם

1 Samuel 30:29

4QSam^a 47 3-4 (DJD 17:99)

29 ולאשׁ [ר בכרמל ולאשר בערי הירחמאלי] 4 [ולאשר בע] רי הקנזי

καὶ τοῖς ἐν Καρμήλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τοῦ Ιεραμῆλι καὶ
τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τοῦ Κενεζι

וְלֹא־שָׁר בְּרָכָל וְלֹא־שָׁר בְּעַרְי הִירְחֻמָּאֵלִי וְלֹא־שָׁר בְּעַרְי הַקִּינִי:

Textual Notes

הַקִּינִי 𐤏 || Κενεζι || הקנוי

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- 4QSam^b [4Q52]: F.M. Cross, D.W. Parry, R.J. Saley. Pages 219-246, pls. XXIV-XXV in Frank Moore Cross et al., *Qumran Cave 4: XII: 1-2 Samuel* (DJD 17; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005). Palaeography: Proto-Jewish formal script (late third century BCE).

Corrado MARTONE

SI 10,12-12,1 : NOUVELLE ÉDITION DU FRAGMENT ADLER (ENA 2536-2) (1)

Summary

Preceding editions of the hebrew text of Ben Sira differ considerably for Sir 10,12-12,1. In this article, we offer a re-edition of the Elkan Natan Adler's bifolio of Ben Sira 10,12-12,1 on the basis of new photographs and we attempt to overcome the difficulties in some readings. After the edition, we provide an apparatus criticus, notes on the readings, a new translation and philological notes.

EN 1900, Elkan Natan Adler acquit et publia un bifeuillet du manuscrit A qui est aujourd'hui conservé au Jewish Theological Seminary de New York sous la côte ENA 2536 comportant Si 7,29-12,1 (2). Si le premier feuillet (ENA 2536.1 = Si 7,29-10,11) ne pose pas de problèmes d'édition majeurs, le second, en revanche, soulève quelques cas de lectures difficiles et les différentes éditions du texte présentent de nombreuses divergences. Suite à un examen fait sur des photographies récentes en haute définition, il nous a paru utile de reprendre l'édition de ce feuillet dans son intégralité afin de fournir au chercheur un texte fiable pour les études futures (3). Nous avons

(1) C'est avec plaisir que je dédie cet article à Émile Puech qui a suggéré plusieurs corrections dans mes lectures et dans la traduction. Qu'il en soit vivement remercié. Je tiens également à remercier Jeremy Corley qui m'a aimablement transmis plusieurs références bibliographiques qui m'avaient échappées.

(2) E. N. Adler, « Some Missing Chapter of Ben Sira », *JQR* 12 (1900), 466–480 ; édition revue et corrigée par I. Lévi, « Notes sur les ch. VII.29–XII.1 de Ben Sira édités par M. Elkan N. Adler », *JQR* 13 (1901), 1-17.

(3) Nous avons juste pu prendre connaissance de l'ouvrage de Víctor Morla Asensio, *Los manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira. Traducción y notas* (Asociación Bíblica Española 59 ; Estella : Verbo Divino, 2012). L'auteur suit vraisemblablement l'édition minimaliste de Beentjes et, de ce fait, ne rend pas dans sa traduction de nombreux passages pourtant clairement lisibles.

joint au texte un appareil critique donnant les variantes du manuscrit B et nous avons justifié nos lectures lorsque ces dernières divergeaient des précédentes éditions du texte (4). Enfin, nous avons proposé une traduction accompagnée de notes philologiques.

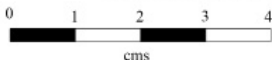
1. Édition du texte

Si 10,12-11,10 (ENA 2536-2 recto)

וּמַעֲשֵׂהוּ יסור מלבו:	12 תחלת גאון אדם ¹ מועז
וּמְקוֹרָהּ יביע זמה:	13 כי מקוה ודון חטא
נִגְלָה	רע ויבא על כן מלא לבי אה ² ם
	ויכהו עד כלה:
וישב עניים תחתם:	14 כסא גאים הפך אלהים
ושרשם עד ארץ קעקע:	16 עקבת גוים ⁴ טמטם אלהים
וישבת מארץ זכרם:	17 ו{סחם מארץ ⁵ וייתשם
ועזות אף לילוד אשה:	18 לא נאווה לאנוש ודון
זרע נקלה ⁷ עובר מצוה:	19 זרע נכבד מה זרע לאנוש
וירא אלהים בעמ ⁸ [א]:	20 בין אחים ראשם נכבד
תפארתם [א] ⁹ את אלהים:	22 גר ⁸ וזר נכרי ורש
וואין לכבד כל איש [א] ¹⁰ כם:	23 אין לבנות דל משיכיל
וא ¹¹ [א] ¹⁰ גדול מ ¹⁰ [א] ¹⁰ רא אלהים:	24 ש[א] ¹⁰ מושל ושופט נכבדו
ועבד ¹¹ [א] ¹⁰ [א] ¹⁰ [א] ¹⁰ יתאונן:	25 עבד משיכיל הורם
וא ¹² תתכב ¹² [א] ¹² עת ¹² צרכך:	26 ל תתחכם לעבד חפצך
ממ ¹³ תכבד [א] ¹³ חס [א] ¹³ מתן:	27 טוב עובד ויותר הון
ויתן לך ט ¹⁴ [א] ¹⁴ כיוצא ברה:	28 בני בענוה כבד נפשך
ומי יכבד מקלה נפשו:	29 מרשיע נפשו מי יצדיקנו
ויש נכבד בגלל עשיו:	30 יש דל נכבד בגלל שכלו
ונקלה בעיניו איככה:	31 נכבד בעשרו איככה
	המ ¹⁷ תכבד בדלותו בעשרו מתכבד יתר
	והנקלה בעשרו ב{ל} דלותו ¹⁸ נקלה יותר:
ובין נדיבים תשיבנו:	11,1 חכמת דל תשא ראשו
ואל תתעב אדם מכו ¹⁹ במראהו:	2 אל תהלל אדם בתארו

(4) Nous avons consulté les éditions suivantes : I. Lévi, *The Hebrew Text of Ecclesiasticus* (SSS 3 ; Leiden, ¹1904, ²1951) ; N. Peters, *Liber Iesu Filii Sirach sive Ecclesiasticus Hebraice* (Friburgi Brisgovie, 1905) ; R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach hebräisch und deutsch* (Berlin, 1906) ; F. Vattioni, *Ecclesiastico. Testo ebraico con apparato critico e versioni greca, latina e siriana* (Pubblicazioni del Seminario di Semitistica, Testi I ; Napoli : Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 1968) ; ספר *of Ben Sira in Hebrew. A text edition of all extant Hebrew manuscripts and a synopsis of all parallel Hebrew Ben Sira texts* (VTS 68 ; Leiden : Brill, ¹1997, ²2006).

מועד ומעשה גוסר מלכו: כי מקרה דרוך חטא ומקרה
 יבוע זמא: על כן בלא ללא נבש ויבוע שכלל:
 כסא נאום הקר להם ונשכב ענינים תחתם: עקבת גוים
 טפסם להם ושרשם ש ארץ קעקע: וסחם מארץ
 ויתשם ויבשר יארץ זכרם: לא טאה לאנש דאין ישרת
 אף ליהוד אשה: זרע נכבד מה זרע לאנשי זרע נקלה:
 עבד אציה: בין אחים ואנש נכבד וירא להם
 גי ודד נמי וירש תמארתם: נח להם אין לבנות: ויכל
 ואין לכבד: יס: ש מושל ושוטט נרדו:
 גירל יא אדום: עבד ושרה אדום ועב:
 יתאונן: יתחכם ל: ד חננך ל: ב:
 דכין: טוב טובד וירש חזן נמי: כבד: מרתן:
 בני בעשה כבד נפשי ויהי לך ט: ירו: אבד:
 מרשיע נפש מייצדיקן נמי וכבד מלה נפשו:
 יש דל נכבד בגלל שכל ויש נכבד בגלל עיניו:
 נכבד בעשרו איכסה ונקלה בעינו אדמה: ויכבד
 כדלתו בעשרו מתכבד יתר והנקלה בעשרו כדלתו
 נקלה וזרע: חכמי: ול תשא ראשו ובין נדיבים תיזבנו:
 אל תהלל א: במדרו דא תועב אדם יי: במדאיהו:
 אליל בעוף דברה וראש וטבות פיה: יונה: א:
 תה: ול תקלס במדח: דם: יי מלאות מעשו: ונעם
 יי: מעלה: רבים נכאום וישבו על גביה: כלל:
 לב עיני צנף: רבים נשאים: ול יי: ותשכל: א:
 וכן נכבדים נתטב ביד: בטרם תחק: אסלף בקר:
 לפנים ואחר תיקף: בני אשוי: דכר טרם תשמע
 ובתוך שיחה אדברי: באין עצה א תאחר וכרב זדים
 א תקומם: בני למה תרצה עשוק ואין ליהובת לא יקרה:
 בני אם לא תרוץ לא תגיע ואם לא תבקש לא תמצא:



(5) J. Schirmann, **דף חדש מתוך ספר בן־סירא** (A New Leaf from the book of Ben Sira), *Tarbiz* 27 (1958), p. 440-443 et J. Schirmann, **דפים נוספים מתוך ספר בן־סירא** (Additional Leaves from the book of Ben Sira), *Tarbiz* 29 (1960), p. 125-134. A. Di Lella, « The Recently Identified Leaves of Sirach in Hebrew », *Biblica* 45 (1964), p. 153-167. En Sir 10,24 (l. 5), lire אָ[ן גָּזֵן] ; en 10,25 (l. 8) lire מִשָּׁן ; en 10,26 (l. 9), lire זָרֶכֶךְ ; en 10,28 (l. 12), lire כִּי־נָא ; en 11,2 (l. 18), lire מִצֵּב (proposé par Di Lella et Ben Hayyim est impossible) ; en 11,6 (l. 8), lire אֲדָם ; Si 11,8 (l. 10), lire שְׁאוֹל ; en Si 11,7 (l. 12), lire קָרוֹר ; Si 11,10 (l. 17), lire תְּרַבָּה עִשֶׂק (la lecture עוֹשֶׂק[ךָ] proposée par Di Lella est impossible).

11,7 H^B תח[תח] קור | H^A תחקר • 11,8^{a-d} H^B déplace ce distique après 11,8^{a-d} •
 [... ש]אול ובקהל טעם שפוט: [...] אל תשיב ובתוך שיחה אל + 11,8
 H^A תאחר • H^B עצה | H^A עצבה • 11,9 H^B בטרם | H^A טרם • H^B תדבר:
 אם תברח לא תדביק ול[א] + 11,10 H^B וברב | H^A וברב • H^B תתור
 H^B עשק | H^{A,Bmg} עשקך • H^B G 11,10^{bc} ת[מלטנו] אם תנוס:

Edition de Si 11,11-12,1 (ENA 2536-2 verso)

- 11 יֵשׁ עֲמַל וַיִּגַּע רֹדֶף
 12 יֵשׁ רָשָׁע וְאֶבֶד־
 וַעֲצִין יְיָ צִפְתָּהּ לְטוֹב
 13 נִשָּׂא בְּרָאשׁוֹ וַיִּרְמָמָהּ
 14 טוֹב וְרַע חַיִּים וּמוֹת
 15 חֲכָמָה וְשָׂכָל⁵ וְהִבֵּן דְּבַר מִיֵּי הוּא:
 חֲטָא וּדְרָכִים יִשְׂרָאֵל מִיֵּי הוּא:
 16 שְׂכָלוֹת וְחוֹשֶׁךְ לְפִשְׁעִים נֹוצְרָה
 17 מִנְּתָ צִדִּיק⁷ [צד] דְּ[צד] מִדְּ
 18 יֵשׁ מִתְעַשֵּׂר מִהֶתְעַנּוּת
 19 וּבַעֲתָ אֵל⁸ [אל] מִצָּאֵתִי נִחַת
 לֹא יֵדַע מָה קָ[ץ] חֲלָף
 20 בְּנִי¹⁰ [בן] עֲלֵי⁹ [על] בְּחֹקֶךָ
 21 [א] לְתָ[ת] מָה¹¹ בְּעֵבֶד¹² [תד] רָע
 כִּי נִכַח בְּעֵינַי בְּ[פ] תַע פִּתְאֹם¹² לְהֵשִׁב¹² [ש] רָשָׁע
 22 בִּרְכָתָ אֵל בְּגִרְלָ צִדִּיק
 23 וְ[א] תִּאמַר מָה [ל] כִּי עֲשִׂיתִי חֲפָצִי וְמָה עָתָה יַעֲזוֹב לִי:
 24 וְ תִּאמַר¹⁴ דִּי עָמִי
 25 טוֹבִי יוֹסֵם תִּשְׁכַּח רַעִיָּה
 וְאַחֲרִית אֲדִים תִּהְיֶה עָלָיו:
 27 עֵת רַעָה¹⁶ תִּשְׁכַּח תַּעֲנוּג
 28 בְּטֶרֶם תַּחְקֹר אָדָם וְ תִּאשׁ[ת] אִי¹⁷ [אי] בְּאַחֲרֵיתוֹ יִאֻשֶּׁר אָדָם:
 לִפְנֵי מוֹת וְ תִּאשֶׁר¹⁸ גִּבּוֹר
 29 לֹא כָל אִישׁ לִהְבִּיא אֶל בִּירַת
 כְּכֹלֹב מֵלֵא עֹף
 30 כַּעֲשֵׂר אַחֲזוֹ בְּכֹלֹב לֵב גֹּאֵה
 מִה רַבּוֹ פִּשְׁעֵי בּוֹצֵעַ
 וְחוֹמָס כֵּן בּוֹצֵעַ בֹּא
 23 אֲוֹרֵב הָרוֹכֵל כְּדוֹב לְבֵית לְצִים
 31 טוֹב לְרַע יִהְיֶה נִרְגָּן²⁴
 32 מְנַצֵּץ²⁵ יִרְבֶּה גַחְלַת
 33 גּוֹר מֵרַע כִּי רַע²⁶ יוֹלִיד
 34 לֹא תִדְבֹּק לְרַשָּׁע וּסְלָף²⁷ דְּרֹכָךְ
 12,1 אִם טוֹב תִּרְעֶה לְמִי תִטִּיב
 11,34 מוֹשֹׁךְ וְרִיז וְהִיר דְּרֹכֶיךָ

וְכָדִי כֵן הוּא מִתְאַחֵר:

2 מהלך חסר כל ויותר עני:

וינעריהו³ מעפר צחנה:

ויתמהו עליו רבים:

ריש ועושר מיי הוא:

ומרעים רעה עמם:

ורצנו יצלח לעד [:]

8 [ש] יחב שכרו:

ועתה אכל⁹ [אל] טוב⁹ [ת]:

וע[ו] בוא לאחור ומת:

ובו תתערע ובמלאכתך התישן[ו]:

12 [ד] רש לי יי וקוה לא[ו] רי:

12 להשב[ש] רש [ו]:

ובעת תקותו תפרח:

13 וְ תִּאמַר מָה [ל] כִּי עֲשִׂיתִי חֲפָצִי וְמָה עָתָה יַעֲזוֹב לִי:

מ[ת] דא[ג] ה יהי עלי:

15 ועת תשכח טובה

וסוף אדם יגיד עליו:

28 בטרם תחקר אדם וְ תִּאשׁ[ת] אִי¹⁷ [אי] בְּאַחֲרֵיתוֹ יִאֻשֶּׁר אָדָם:

ובאחריתו ינכר איש :

19 ומה רבו פשעי רוכל:

כן בתייהם²⁰ מלאים מרמה:

21 כזאב ארב לטרף:

ככלב הוא באוכל²² בית:

ומשים ריב לכל ט[ו] בתם:

וכמרגל יראה ערוה:

ובמחמדיך יתן קשר:

ואיש בליעל לדם יארב:

למה מום עולם תשא:

ויהפך מבריתך:

28 ויהי תקוה לטובתך:

1 וינכרך במחמדיך

2. Notes de lectures (6)

L. 1 ומקורה — Non vocalisé par Adler, mais vocalisé dans les éditions suivantes (Lévi, Ben Ḥayyim, Beentjes).

L. 2 מלא לבו — Beentjes remarque que les termes מלא לבו ne sont probablement pas originels, dans la mesure où l'on distingue des traces de lettres en dessous. En fait, il n'en est rien, il s'agit tout simplement de l'encre du bifeuillet opposé (ENA 2536-1 verso = Si 9,2-10,11) qui s'est imprimée, en symétrique, sur notre feuillet (7).

לְבִי אֶה[י]ם — On distingue clairement le départ de la tête du *mem* final. רע ויבא — La lecture de la correction marginale est certaine, mais son emplacement dans le texte n'est pas explicite. Différentes solutions ont ainsi été proposées (8):

Peters (9) ומקורה ויבא זמה:

Lévi, Vattioni על כן מלא לבו אֶה[י]ם רע ויבא עד כֵּה:

Ben Ḥayyim על כן מלא לבו רע ויבא אֶה[י]ם נִנְעָה

La proposition de Ben Ḥayyim est la seule acceptable : « C'est pourquoi il remplit son cœur de mal et Dieu fait venir son fléau. ».

L. 3 עניים — Adler lit עניים, corrigé dans les éditions suivantes.

L. 4 וי[סחם] — Le scribe a corrigé le *yod* en *waw* en prolongeant le jambage en partie fondu.

L. 5 וישבת — Le *holem* sur le *bet* est absent de l'ensemble des éditions excepté Ben Ḥayyim. ועזות — Adler ו[זו]ת, corrigé dans les éditions suivantes.

L. 7 בַּעֲמָ[ו:] — Avec Smend et Di Lella. On discerne clairement *bet*, 'aïn, puis une base de lettre coudée. La lecture [ממנו] proposée par Adler, Lévi et Vattioni, en accord avec H^B et le syriaque, est impossible. La lecture [בעינ] proposée par Peters, Minissale et Rüger sur la base du grec (ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ) est également à exclure, le *yod* étant impossible.

L. 8 וור — Il n'est pas nécessaire de lire un *dalet* et d'imposer une correction, comme le proposent Lévi, Smend, Ben Ḥayyim et Beentjes. Le scribe du manuscrit A trace parfois le *reš* comme le *dalet* avec une épaulement anguleuse (outre notre exemple, voir encore חסרי en 16,23 [TS 12.863 verso, ligne 27], les cas ambigus sont trop nombreux

(6) Nous n'avons justifié nos lectures que lorsqu'elles différaient des éditions de Lévi, Smend, Peters, Vattioni, Ben Ḥayyim et Beentjes.

(7) Ce cas de figure est fréquent dans le manuscrit A. Le repérage s'opère en superposant l'image symétrique du folio ENA 2536-1 verso, en transparence, sur le folio ENA 2536-2 recto avec un logiciel de retouche d'image (ou avec du papier calque).

(8) Morla Asensio ignore ויבא, Beentjes inverse les deux termes.

(9) Peters n'a pas tenu compte du terme רע de la marge.

pour les attribuer à des fautes du copiste). י[ר]אָט — Traces très claires du *yod*, puis de l'oblique et du deuxième jambage du 'aleph (Beentjes transcrit seulement ת[] מְשִׁכִּיל — L'ensemble des éditions transcrivent מ[שכיל]. Toutes les lettres sont parfaitement visibles sur les photographies récentes (10) : pour le *mem*, trace de la base coudée, d'une partie de la tête et de l'oblique ; pour le *šin*, branche gauche et base de la branche droite préservées.

L. 9 כָּם יֵשׁ אִישׁ [ח] — Une trace de lettre vient toucher le *lamed*, départ de la tête du *kaph* possible. Ensuite, avant le *mem* final, trace d'une tête de lettre, probablement *kaph* (Smend, Ben Ḥayyim) ou *reš*. (Adler, Lévi, Vattioni), mais la lecture [יז]רם, « élevé », n'est pas attendue. [ר]ש — Les précédentes éditions ne transcrivent rien, néanmoins, le *šin* est certain (11). La lecture [ר]ש parfaite pour l'espace et en accord avec H^B et les versions est ainsi assurée. Peters, Smend, Lévi, Vattioni restaurent [נדיב] qui est dès lors impossible. וְאֵי[י]ן — Traces du *waw* et de la fin de l'oblique du 'aleph.

L. 10 וְעֵבֶד[מ]שׁ[כִּיל] — L'encre s'est estompée et il ne reste qu'une trace de *šin*. [מ]שׁ[כִּיל] est parfait pour l'espace.

L. 11 וְאֵ תַתְּכִיב[בד]עֵת — La plupart des éditions lisent et restaurent [תתכבד במו]עד (12) qui est pourtant trop long pour l'espace. On distingue une maigre trace de lettre qui, vue sa position pourrait être un pied de *taw* (ou base d'un *kaph* ou d'un *bet*), puis *taw*, *kaph* et une maigre trace de lettre seulement visible sur le *facsimile* de 1901 ; après la lacune, une trace de 'aīn puis *taw* (trace du jambage gauche sur le *facsimile* de 1901). La lecture et la restauration proposée conviennent parfaitement pour l'espace et les traces et s'accordent avec les versions grecques et syriaques.

L. 12 [ו]אָס[ר] — Maigre trace du deuxième jambage du *het* (Adler a lu [בלח]ם, leçon corrigée dans les éditions postérieures en [ח]ס[ר]).

L. 13 ט[ע]ם — Tête du *mem* (13). כִּיּוּצָא — Le manuscrit est altéré, le *šade* n'est presque plus visible sur les photos récentes, mais il est clair sur le *facsimile* de 1901 et sur les planches d'Adler (fragment déplacé). בַּרְה — Lire avec certitude un *he* dilaté pour combler la fin de la ligne (Peters, Smend, Vattioni) et non בַּהֵם (Segal, Ben Ḥayyim, Minissale).

(10) Elles ne sont pas visibles sur le *facsimile* de 1901.

(11) Il n'est pas visible sur le *facsimile* de 1901.

(12) Adler [תתכבד במו]עד, Smend, Vattioni [תתכבד במו]עד, Lévi [תתכבד במו]עד, Beentjes [.....] ואל תכב[בד]ע[בד]ם, Ben Ḥayyim [במו]עד, [במו]עד qui est impossible.

(13) Adler אבדת ט אבדת ט qui est impossible, Lévi [עם] כיוצא ב.. Smend et Vattioni [ט] [עם] כיוצא ב[.]. Beentjes [ט] [עם] כיוצא בהם, Ben Ḥayyim [ט] [עם] כיוצא בה.

L. 16 הַמֶּתְכַבֵּד — Premier jambage du *he* et départ de la tête du *mem* visibles sur les photographies récentes (absents du *facsimile* de 1901 et des planches de Adler) (14).

L. 17 בַּלְדִּלוֹ — Un *lamed* a été érasé et corrigé en *dalet*.

L. 19 מְכוֹרֵר — Maigres traces des trois dernières lettres visibles sur le *facsimile* de 1901.

L. 20 בַּעֲטָה — Avec Smend, Ben Ḥayyim, Beentjes, Rüger. Départ de la tête d'un *bet* visible, aussi, la lecture *מעטה* proposée par Adler, Lévi, Peters et Vattioni peut être retenue. אַ[ז]ר — Avant le *reš*, une trace de lettre au dessus de la ligne d'écriture permet de lire un *waw* légèrement supralinéaire et de restaurer אַ[ז]ר en accord avec H^B. Adler, Lévi, Vattioni et Peters proposent de lire אַ[ב]ר qui pourrait se justifier avec un *bet* à tête prononcée (voir le *bet* de ובל à la fin de la l. 22) et un *dalet* tracé comme un *reš* ce qui est possible dans l'écriture de ce scribe. La lecture אַ[פ]ר proposée par Smend, Ben Ḥayyim et Segal est plus difficile à retenir.

L. 22 מְאֹרֵם — Traces du jambage gauche et de l'oblique du *'aleph* (voir le *facsimile* de 1901), puis trace de la haste du *dalet* et de la tête du *mem* (ainsi Lévi ; Adler, Smend, Vattioni, Ben Ḥayyim placent ces trois lettres dans la lacune), les deux *qames* assurent la lecture. ובל — Adler a transcrit תבל qui a été corrigé dans les éditions ultérieures.

L. 23-26 Les stiques de Si 11,6-8 sont intégralement vocalisés et accompagnés de signes de ponctuation proches de la ponctuation massorétique, mais qui ne semble pas suivre les mêmes règles (Voir aussi Si 9,3-4 ; Si 10,2). Le scribe use essentiellement de l'*atnaḥ* et de deux accents tracés sous la forme d'un arc de cercle, voire d'un trait simplement oblique, vers la gauche ou vers la droite, soit au-dessus (*pašṭa*, *azla*, *gereš*) soit au dessous de la lettre (*tifha*, *mereka*). Cet arc de cercle est parfois anguleux s'apparentant au *munah* lorsqu'il précède l'*atnaḥ*. Le scribe utilise également un trait vertical s'apparentant au *meteg* ou au *silluq*, mais qui ne semble pas remplir les mêmes fonctions. Enfin, certaines lettres portent un *rafé* sur les *begadkefat* et le *he* final quiescent.

L. 24 תַּחְקֹר — Adler, Lévi, Vattioni lisent תַּחְקֹר, mais il n'y a pas la place entre le *qoph* et le *reš* pour un *waw*.

L. 27 וְהִרְבֹּת — Le scribe a tracé un *waw* qu'il semble ensuite avoir raturé par une boucle.

L. 2 אַ[נש] — L'ensemble des éditions transcrive אַ[נש] (Adler, Lévi, Ben Ḥayyim, Beentjes), Smend et Vattioni restaurant אַ[נש].

(14) Adler [מת]כבד, Lévi, Vattioni [מת]כבד, Smend [המת]כבד, Ben Ḥayyim [המ]תכבד, Beentjes [תכבד].

L. 4 חֲמָה — Les deux jambages du *het* sont visibles (ainsi Adler, Lévi, Vattioni ; Smend lit (!) כמת[ח] ; Ben Hayyim כמה[ח]).

L. 8 𐤌𐤍𐤏 [w]𐤍 — Le *waw* est visible (avec Smend), ensuite seul le *sérê* est préservé, aussi il est possible de restaurer soit 𐤌𐤍, idéal pour l'espace (ainsi Adler, Smend, Vattioni, Ben Ḥayyim) et en accord avec le syriaque, soit 𐤍𐤍 en accord avec le grec (15). Le *pataḥ* sous le *het* transcrit par Vattioni, Ben Ḥayyim, et Beentjes est une ombre sur le *facsimile* de 1901. 𐤍[𐤌]𐤏 — Trace de l'oblique du *'aleph* et de la tête du *reš*.

(15) Lévi a vraisemblablement sauté la particule ויש.

(Smend, Peters, Ben Ḥayyim). Le *waw* après עֹב n'est pas certain et un *he* ne semble pas exclu bien que la trace de lettre soit convexe, tandis que le jambage droit du *he* est généralement concave. ou לאהרם ou לאהרים proposés par Vattioni et Adler sont impossibles pour l'espace.

L. 10 בְּנִי [ע]מ[ד] — La lecture ש[לם] proposée par Adler est à exclure (traces d'une base coudée, *nun*, puis base de la seconde branche du 'aïn et enfin tête de lettre pouvant correspondre à un *dalet*. תְּתַרַע — Différentes lectures ont été proposées : Adler, Vattioni : ת[הנה] ; Peters : ה[תה]לך ; Smend, Ben Ḥayyim : ה[ת]רע ; M. Abegg : ה[ת]שע. Les deux premières lettres devraient être des *taw*, en raison de restes de deux jambages gauches présentant un pied (16). Les deux lettres suivantes peuvent clairement être lues comme *reš* et 'aïn (la branche droite du 'aïn touchant la tête du *reš*). Aussi, la lecture de תתרע comme en Pr 22,24 nous paraît être la plus probable, d'autant qu'elle s'accorde avec les versions. הַתִּישׁוֹ — Trace estompée de la base du *šin* et reste de la fin de la hampe du *nun* final.

L. 11 בְּעֵבֶר [ד]ת ר' — En fonction des traces et des versions, il est possible de lire soit בְּעֵבֶר [ד]ת ר', soit בְּמַעַן [ש]י א[ו]ל (17). [ד]רֵשׁ — Smend et Peters proposent de lire ק[ר]וֹץ (hapax, de l'araméen « se lever tôt »), qui ne s'accorde ni avec le grec, ni avec le syriaque ; sur les photos plus récentes, seule une tête de lettre (*reš* ?) puis *šin* assuré ou (*teš*). Le verbe דרש suivi de *lamed* de la personne-Dieu est bien attesté en hébreu tardif au sens de « vénérer ». נכח בעיני ב[פ]תע. — Adler a lu יכח, lecture corrigée dans les éditions ultérieures. Trace du pied de *taw* de ב[פ]תע.

L. 12 לְהַשְׁבִּיעַ [רש] — La lecture est assurée par les restes, puis probablement רש sans restes de *lamed* pour דל. Texte en accord avec les versions. בְּגֵרָל — Trace de la base du *bet* (Smend, Ben Ḥayyim, Beentjes contre Adler, Peters et vattioni qui ne transcrivent rien). תְּקוּתוֹ — Ben Ḥayyim lit תְּקוּתוֹ, mais lire un *waw* court, plutôt qu'un *yod*.

L. 13 לִי תִאמַר מֶה [לי] — Traces de deux lettres, la première est la base coudée d'une lettre (*kaph* ou *mem*), lire probablement מֶה avec Smend et le grec, puis probablement [לי], en accord avec le grec, le fragment doit être écarté pour retrouver le mot suivant.

L. 14 דִּי עָמִי [מה] דָּא[ג]ה — Les éditions divergent considérablement sur la transcription de ce stique : Adler, Vattioni ne transcrivent rien ; Smend דִּי עָמִי א[ה] א[נש] יהי עלי ; Peters דִּי יִשְׁנו [ומ]ה א[סו]ן ;

(16) La première trace offre néanmoins une épaule anguleuse prolongée par un jambage cambré ce qui n'est pas commun pour un *taw* (plus commun pour un *bet* ou un *he*, mais la lecture de ה[ת]רע proposée par Smend et Ben Ḥayyim est à exclure, elle ne rend pas compte du pied de la lettre.

(17) La trace de lettre après le *bet* conviendrait mieux pour un 'aïn que pour un *mem*, bien que ce dernier ne soit pas exclu (avec un dos cambré). Ensuite, lire soit un 'aïn, soit un *lamed*, si l'on tient compte de la trace de lettre sous le *bet* de la ligne précédente.

néanmoins à exclure), les lettres sont néanmoins extrêmement proches et n'ont donc pas besoin d'être dissociées.

L. 22 כן — Adler et Peters a lu כל qui est exclu. חומס — Le *qameṣ* lu sous le *mem* par Vattioni et Beentjes est en réalité une tâche sur le manuscrit.

3. Traduction

- 12 Le commencement de l'orgueil de l'homme c'est d'être effronté,
quand son cœur se détourne de son créateur.
- 13 Car l'origine de l'arrogance, c'est le péché,
et sa source fait jaillir l'infamie.
C'est pourquoi ^{son} cœur est plein de mal
et Di[e]u fait venir son fléau,
et il le frappe jusqu'à l'anéantissement.
- 14 Dieu renverse le trône des orgueilleux,
et fait asseoir les pauvres à leur place.
- 16 Dieu rend stupide la ruse des orgueilleux,
et leur racine est détruite jusqu'à la terre.
- 17 Il les a arrachés de la terre et les a supprimés,
et il a fait disparaître de la terre leur souvenir.
- 18 L'orgueil ne sied pas à l'homme,
et l'arrogance pour celui qui est né de la femme
- 19 Quelle race est digne d'honneur ? la race de l'homme.
La race méprisée : celle qui transgresse le commandement.
- 20 Parmi des frères, leur chef est honoré,
et celui qui craint Dieu (est honoré) dans [son] peuple.
- 22 Immigré, inconnu, étranger et pauvre,
leur magnificence, c'est la c[ra]inte de Dieu.
- 23 Il ne faut pas mépriser un pauvre intelligent,
ni glorifier tout homme [s]age.
- 24 Prin[ce], gouverneur et juge sont honorés.
mais n[u]l n'est plus grand que celui qui c[rai]nt Dieu.
- 25 Le serviteur intelligent est élevé,
et le serviteur intel[ligent] ne se lamente pas.
- 26 Ne fais pas le sage pour réaliser ton désir,
et ne te glorifi[e pas au]temps de ton indigence.
- 27 Mieux vaut celui qui travaille et qui a la richesse en abondance
que celui qui se glorifie [et] manq[ue] 'd'aumône'.
- 28 Mon fils, glorifie-toi avec humilité
et il te donnera du disc[erne]ment selon ta valeur.
- 29 Celui qui s'incrimine, qui le justifiera ?
et qui glorifiera celui qui se méprise lui-même ?

- 30 Il y a le pauvre qui est honoré en raison de son intelligence
et celui qui est honoré en raison de sa richesse.
- 31 Celui qui est honoré dans sa *richesse*,
combien plus (*le sera-t-il dans sa pauvreté !*)
et celui qui est méprisé *dans sa pauvreté*,
combien plus (*le sera-t-il dans sa richesse !*)
Celui qui est honoré dans sa pauvreté,
dans sa richesse, il sera d'autant plus honoré,
et celui qui est méprisé dans sa richesse,
dans sa pauvreté, il sera d'autant plus méprisé.
- 11,1 La sagesse du pauvre relève sa tête,
et le fait siéger parmi des princes.
- 2 Ne loue pas un homme pour sa beauté,
et n'aie pas horreur d'un homme à l'aspect répugnant.
- 3 Misérable parmi les oiseaux est l'abeille,
mais son fruit est le premier des produits.
- 4 Ne tourne pas en ridicule celui qui est vêtu d'un [pa]gne,
et ne te moque pas de l'amertume d'un jour,
car les œuvres de YYY sont merveilleuses,
mais son agir est caché à l'[ho]mme.
- 5 Nombre d'affligés se sont assis sur un trône,
et ceux dont nul ne se préoccupaient ont revêtu un diadème.
- 6 Nombre de distingués ont été grandement méprisés
et ont été abaissés ensemble.
et de même ceux qui étaient honorés ont été livrés.
- 7 Avant que tu n'aies cherché, ne déforme pas,
scrute d'abord et ensuite, réprimande
- 8 Mon fils, ne réponds pas avant que tu n'aies écouté,
et au beau milieu d'un discours, ne parle pas.
- 9 Là où il n'y a pas de peine, ne tarde pas,
et dans le procès des présomptueux ne te lève pas.
- 10 Mon fils, pourquoi multiplies-tu tes occupations ?
Celui qui s'empresse de (les) multiplier ne sera pas sans reproche.
Mon fils si tu ne cours pas tu n'arriveras pas,
et si tu ne cherches pas, tu ne trouveras pas.
- 11 Il y a celui qui travaille, qui peine et qui court,
et même ainsi il est en retard.
- 12 Il y a celui qui est brisé et qui périt,
il va, manquant de tout et excessivement pauvre,
mais l'œil de Dieu veille sur lui en vue du bonheur,
et il le secoue de la poussière puante.
- 13 Il relève sa tête et l'exalte,
et beaucoup sont stupéfiés à son sujet.

- 14 Bien et mal, vie et mort,
pauvreté et richesse viennent de YYY.
- 15 Sagesse, intelligence et connaissance des choses viennent de YYY,
péché et droits chemins viennent de YYY,
- 16 Folie et ténèbres ont été formés pour les pécheurs,
et ceux qui font le mal, le mal est avec eux.
- 17 La part du juste [tien]dra [pour touj]ours,
et son désir s'accomplira pour toujours.
- 18 Il y a celui qui s'enrichit par des privations,
et celui qui est redevable de son salaire.
- 19 Et lorsqu'il d[i]t : « j'ai trouvé le repos,
et maintenant je vais jouir [de] mon bi[e]n »,
mais il ne sait pas que le temp[s] fi]lle
et qu'il le la[is]sера à un autre et mourra.
- 20 [Mon] fils, tie[ns] toi à ce qui t'est prescrit
et prends-y plaisir, et par ta besogne avance en âge,
- 21 [Ne] t'é[to]nne pas des œu[vres du méch]ant,
[Vé]nère YYY et espère en sa lu[m]ière,
car c'est aisé aux yeux du Seigneur de s[u]bitement enrich[ir le
22 La bénédiction de Dieu est dans le lot du juste pau]vre.
et au temps voulu son espoir fleurira.
- 23 Ne dis pas : « Qu'est-ce que j'ai ? Puisque j'ai réalisé mon désir,
et qu'est ce qui pourrait me secourir maintenant ? »
- 24 Ne dis pas : « C'en est assez avec moi,
et qu'[elle] pei[n]e m'atteindrait ?
- 25 Le bonheur d'un jour fait oublier le malheur,
et le malheur d'un temps fait oublier le bonheur.
mais la fin de l'homme dépend de lui.
- 27 Un temps de malheur fera oublier le plaisir,
et la fin de l'homme le révélera.
- 28 Avant que tu n'aies examiné un homme, ne le déclare pas bien[heur]eux,
[car] c'est dans sa fin que l'homme sera déclaré bienheureux.
Avant la mort ne déclare pas un homme bienheureux,
et dans sa fin un homme est reconnu.
- 29 Ne laisse entrer personne dans la maison,
(car) combien nombreuses sont les blessures du colporteur.
Comme une cage remplie d'oiseaux,
ainsi leurs maisons sont remplies de rapines.
- 30 Le cœur de l'orgueilleux est comme un oiseau captif dans une cage,
comme un loup aux aguets pour déchirer.
Combien nombreuses sont les fraudes de l'escroc,
il est comme un chien qui dévore une maison.
En dévastant, ainsi va l'escroc,

et en mettant de la discorde pour tous leurs b[i]ens.
Le colporteur épie, comme un ours, la maison des moqueurs,
et comme un espion, il voit *le point faible*.

- 31 Le calomniateur change le bien en mal,
et dans ce qui t'est précieux, il met la conspiration.
32 D'une étincelle, il accroît la braise,
et le vaurien épie le sang.
33 Prends peur devant le mal car il engendre le mal,
de peur que tu ne portes une tare éternelle.
34 Ne t'attache pas au méchant, il pervertirait ta voie,
et te détournerait de tes alliances
12,1 Si tu fais du mal au bien, à qui feras-tu du bien ?
Et, il y aurait un espoir à ta bonté !
11,34 *En accueillant des étrangers, fais attention* à tes voies,
ils te rendraient étranger à ceux qui te sont précieux.

4. Commentaire de la traduction

Ces notes ne sont pas un exercice de critique textuelle, mais ont pour objectif de justifier la traduction et le texte du manuscrit A.

10,12 תחלת גאון אדם — Grec et syriaque ont lu גאון אדם comme un état construit (« Le commencement de l'orgueil de l'homme, c'est l'arrogance »). מוֹעֵז — Participe *hophal* de עוֹז (19). Le verbe n'est jamais usité au *hophal* (20). Au *hiphil*, il est toujours construit avec פָּנִים pour exprimer le fait d'être « effronté » (21). Employé de manière absolue, au *qal*, il exprime l'état de puissance, de force, de pouvoir. Le verset voudrait signifier que le pouvoir, la force et/ou l'arrogance se situent à l'origine de l'orgueil. מַלְכוּ — Doit certainement être corrigé en לְכוּ.

10,13 מקוה — En hébreu biblique, מקוה a le sens de « lieu de rassemblement », mais on le trouve à Qumrân dans le sens de « source, origine », voir l'expression מקוֹי כְבוֹד en 1QH^a XX 32 (22) // 4Q427 3 9 et 4Q511 52+54,5+97 9 2 (en parallèle avec מקוֹר דַּעַת) ; 1QM X 13 (מקוֹי נְהִירוֹת) ; voir également Si 43,20 où Massada et H^B

(19) Ou de יָעַז attesté une seule fois en hébreu biblique au participe *niphal*, נִיפְעָז, en Is 33,19

(20) *Ma'agarim* recense trois attestations dans des *piyyoutim*.

(21) En Si 8,16^A il est construit avec מִצַּח : אֵל תַּעֲזֵר מִצַּח « ne sois pas effronté », ce qui n'est pas habituel.

(22) Pour la numérotation des Hymnes, nous suivons : H. Stegemann, E. Schuller and C. Newsom, *Qumran Cave 1. III. 1QHodayot^a with incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot^{d-f}* (DJD XL ; Oxford : Clarendon Press, 2009).

ont מקור corrigé en מקוה dans la note marginale de H^B. C'est d'ailleurs dans ce sens que l'ont compris le grec et le syriaque. ומקורה — La vocalisation, comme au distique suivant (מְנַעַה), indique le pronom suffixe masculin renvoyant à זרדן ou חטא.

10,15 Le verset 15 manque dans l'hébreu certainement par *homoiooteleuton* avec le v. 14b ou par *homoioarcton* avec le v. 16a.

10,16 עקבת — Pour עקבה dans le sens de « ruse », cf. 2 R 10,19 et peut-être Si 16,3^A. Smend et Lévi lui préfèrent le sens de « trace », « signe » (ainsi également le syriaque, le grec a χώρα « territoire »). גוים — Le grec ἐθνῶν reflète clairement la leçon vocalisée גוים, mais le syriaque ܡܥܬܐ, « orgueilleux » pourrait correspondre à une vocalisation גוים, écriture défective de גאויים qui offrirait un sens plus conforme au contexte. גאה a une orthographe très fluctuante (גאי / גא / גאווה / גאות / גוה) et la confusion avec גוים ne serait pas un cas isolé (voir So 3,6 où la Septante traduit l'hébreu גוים par ὑπερηφάνους « orgueilleux » et voir également Si 35,22 où il faudrait peut-être lire également גוים). טמטם — La racine est attestée en hébreu rabbinique dans le sens de « stopper, obstruer » et ainsi « embrouiller la compréhension » (voir Jastrow, p. 532). Néanmoins la plupart corrigent טמטם en טאטא « disperser, balayer » ; de fait, les deux points au-dessus du terme et les trois points en marge peuvent indiquer une forme erronée. On pourrait alors traduire dans ce sens : « Dieu balaye la trace / ruse des orgueilleux. »

10,17 וי(ס)חם — La racine סחה est rare et semble avoir ici le sens d' « arracher, supprimer », comme en Pr 2,22 ; Ps 52,7 ; Ez 26,4 (Cf. Clines VI 143–144, plutôt que le sens de « racler, balayer »). Cf. également Si 48,15. וישבת — « Faire disparaître le souvenir », cf. Dt 32,26.

10,18 לא נאווה — Cf. Si 14,3^A ; 41,16^M ; Pr 17,7 ; 19,10 ; 26,1. ועזות אף — Le syntagme ne présente pas de parallèles, l'hébreu rabbinique connaît la construction עזות פנים ou מצה עזות dans le sens « d'insolence, d'effronterie, d'arrogance » (23) (le grec a ὁ ἑαυτοῦ ὑπερηφάνος). ילוד — Pour l'expression, voir Job 14,1 ; 15,14 ; 25,4 ; IQS XI 21 ; 1QH^a V 31 ; XXI 2 ; XXIII 13–14 ; 4Q482 1 4 et 4Q501 1 5.

10,19 (24) Le texte grec comporte 4 stiques (*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*). Le manuscrit A omet deux stiques (*b* et *c*, comme certains manuscrits

(23) On trouve une attestation de עזות אף dans un *piyyout* : אדון : יצרות : אדון : אמת, יצרות : אדון : אמת, 59 מגיד מראשית.

(24) Sur Si 10,19-11,16, voir : A. A. Di Lella, « Sirach 10:19-11:6: Textual Criticism, Poetic Analysis, and Exegesis » in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. C. L. Meyers and M. Connor ; ASOR books, 1 ; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1982), 157-64. A. Minissale, *La versione greca del Siracide. Confronto con il testo ebraico*

grecs minuscules [106–545]), probablement par *homoioarcton*. Les stiques *c* et *d* du grec sont présents sur le manuscrit B en tête de feuillet, les stiques *a* et *b* étant vraisemblablement à la fin du feuillet précédent non retrouvé. Le syriaque comporte cinq stiques. מה — Pour l'emploi de l'interrogatif en position non initiale, voir JM §161k. Selon van Peursen (2004, 290), l'extraposition d'un élément devant le pronom interrogatif est une caractéristique de Ben Sira et est probablement due à une influence de l'araméen. לאנוש — Le *lamed* marque ici l'état construit (JM §130).

10,20 ראשם — « Leur tête », c'est-à-dire l'aîné.

10,25 Le manuscrit B offre ici quatre distiques (*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*) (25). Grec et syriaque ne présentent qu'un distique proche de notre verset et équivalant au stique *d* de H^B. עבד משכיל — Voir Si 7,21^{A,C,D} ; Pr 14,35 ; 17,2 ; 4Q418 8a,b,c,d 15(// 4Q416 2 ii 15). הורם — Le *hophal* de רום est rare en hébreu biblique et est généralement construit avec מן dans le sens de « prélever » (cf. Ex 29,27 ; Lv 4,10 ; voir aussi Dn 8,11^{Qere} et Si 47,2^B), sens également attesté dans la littérature rabbinique. Dans notre verset, il devrait signifier « être élevé, être exalté ». Mais, le verset est probablement corrompu et il faudrait lire avec H^B et le Grec : הורים יעבדוהו « un serviteur intelligent, les notables le servent ». L'erreur serait aisément explicable : הורים et הורים étant très proches et יעבדוהו ayant disparu par haplographie ou s'étant corrompu en ועבד qui constitue désormais le début du v. 25b et qui est absent de H^B et des versions. ועבד — N'est probablement pas original, le manuscrit B a וב[גר] confirmé par le grec et le syriaque. יתאונן — Le *hitpaal* de אנו n'est attesté qu'en Nb 11,1 ; Lm 3,39.

10,26 תתחכם — Le *hitpaal* de חכם est attesté cinq fois en Ben Sira (Si 6,32^A ; 32,4^B ; 38,24.25^B) dans le sens de « devenir sage » ou de se « montrer sage » (voir encore en Ex 1,10 ; Qo 7,16, en hébreu rabbinique et en araméen). לעבד — Selon van Peursen (26), le *lamed* introduirait ici la temporelle, « ne te prétend pas sage lorsque tu sers

alla luce dell'attività midrascica e del metodo targumico (AnBib, 133 ; Roma : Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1995), 56-65 ; M. Gilbert, « Wisdom of the Poor : Ben Sira 10,19-11,16 » in *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research: Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference, 28-31 July 1996, Soesterberg, Netherlands* (ed. P. C. Beentjes ; BZAW 255 ; Berlin - New York : Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 153-69. Sur Sir 10,19-11,28, voir G. L. Prato, *Il problema della teodicea in Ben Sira: Composizione dei contrari e richiamo alle origini* (AnBib, 65 ; Roma : Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1975), 372-8.

(25) Le second stique (inséré en interlinéaire) reprend, pour le premier stique tout au moins, le stique *a* ; le quatrième stique (*d*), est aussi identique au premier stique mais a été exponctué. Ces trois distiques semblables (*a*, *b*, *d*) correspondent à Si 7,21^{A,C,D}.

(26) W. Th. van Peursen, *The verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira* (Studies in Semitic languages and linguistics 41 ; Leiden : Brill, 2004), 337.

ton propre désir » (voir Jr 46,13 ; CD XI 9-10) (27). — **הפנך** — Le terme peut désigner le « désir » ou le « travail », l'« affaire » comme en Is 58,13 (et selon Smend Si 11,23^A) (28), c'est ainsi que l'ont compris le grec et le syriaque. — **וְאִלְתְּהִכְ[בְּד] עַתָּה צִרְכְּךָ** — Comparer avec la formule quasi similaire de 4Q416 2 ii 20 : **אַל תַּחְבֹּד בַּמַּחְסוּרָה** : « Ne te glorifie pas dans ton indigence ». — **צִרְכְּךָ** — Cf. Si 8,9 et la note.

10,27 Ce verset est basé sur Pr 12,9 en lisant **לֹא עֲבָד לוֹ** (comme la LXX et la Peshitta contre le TM **לֹא עֲבָד לוֹ**) (29). — **מתן** — « Don, présent, aumône », cf. Si 3,17^A ; 4,4^A ; 7,33^A ; 11,17^A ; 40,28^{B,M}. V. Morla Asensio le traduit, en fonction du contexte, par : « et qui manque de moyens » (30). Lévi considère que **מתן** serait une corruption de **מִזֶּן** attesté en syriaque (**ܡܝܙܢܐ**) et en grec (**ὑπτῶν**), cf. Pr 12,9. Cela est plus que vraisemblable.

10,28 **וַיִּתֵּן לָךְ** — Le manuscrit B a **וַיִּתֵּן לָהּ** en accord avec G et S, l'antécédent féminin renvoyant à **נִפְשָׁךְ** du stique précédent. Le manuscrit A est probablement erroné, **לָךְ** en début de stique renvoie à **בְּנִי** tandis que **בָּהּ** en fin de stique renverrait à **נִפְשָׁךְ**. **וַיִּתֵּן** après l'impératif du stique précédent peut exprimer la conséquence (cf. JM §116a). La troisième personne peut soit renvoyer à Dieu, soit être impersonnel. — **טַעַם** — Le substantif évoque la notion de « goût » (cf. Si 25,18^C), mais aussi de « discernement », de « bon sens » (cf. Job 12,11 ; Ps 119,66). ... **כִּי־וְצָא בָּהּ** — L'expression revient en 38,17^B et n'apparaît ailleurs qu'en hébreu rabbinique dans le sens « de la même manière », « de manière similaire ». Comme le note Segal, l'expression **כִּי־וְצָא בָּהּ** trouve sa source en contexte commercial pour signifier « X à la valeur de Y », voir *m. Ma'as. Š. 4,8, m. 'Abot 8,11*.

10,29 ... **מִרְשִׁיעַ נִפְשׁוֹ מִי** — L'extraposition d'un élément avant le pronom interrogatif (*casus pendens*) est possiblement due à une influence de l'araméen (31). — **יִצְדִּיקֵנּוּ** — « Qui le justifiera », c'est-à-dire « l'acquittera ». Pour le thème d'acquitter ou de justifier, cf. Ex 23,7 ; Isa 5,23 ; Pr 17,15 et Si 42,2^{B,M}.

10,31 Ce verset pose plusieurs difficultés. Les deux témoins hébreux présentent deux longs distiques en doublet, là où le grec et le

(27) Gilbert, « Wisdom of the Poor », 162, l'interprète comme un gérondif latin.

(28) Ainsi Gilbert, « Wisdom of the Poor », 163.

(29) M. Kister, « Some Notes on Biblical Expressions and Allusions and the Lexicography of Ben Sira » in *Sirach, Scrolls and Sages. Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, and the Mishnah, held at Leiden University, 15–17 December 1997* (ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde ; STDJ 33 ; Leiden, Boston, Köln : Brill, 1999), 160–87 (178).

(30) Morla Asensio, *Los manuscritos hebreos*, 93.

(31) Van Peursen, *The verbal System*, 290.

syriaque n'en présentent qu'un qui correspondrait au premier distique des deux témoins hébreux. Ces deux témoins présentent une même erreur en donnant **בעיניו**, « à ses yeux », à la place de **בעוניו**, « dans sa pauvreté » (pour la graphie de **עני** avec *mater lectionis*, cf. 13,24b ; pour une confusion similaire, cf. Za 9,8) ; la confusion entre *waw* et *yod* est fréquente dans les témoins de la Guénizah (voir Di Lella, 1966, 97-101). Les deux premiers stiques de H^A, dans leur état actuel, ne font pas vraiment sens et sont vraisemblablement corrompus. Aussi, il paraît inévitable d'amender le texte à partir de H^B, en accord avec G et S : **נכבד בעוניו בעשרו איככה | ונקלה בעשרו בעוניו איככה** ; les deux termes **בעוניו** et **בעשרו** ayant disparu par *homoioteleuton* ; c'est le texte que nous avons donné en traduction.

10,31ab **איככה** — Ce pronom interrogatif, « combien », appartient à l'hébreu tardif (Ct 5,3 ; Est 8,6) et doit signifier ici « combien plus », sens qui semble être propre à Ben Sira (cf. aram. **היכה**) (32).

10,31cd Ces deux derniers stiques portent nombres de caractéristiques de l'hébreu tardif : l'emploi du *hitpael* (**מתכבד**) pour exprimer le passif à la place du *niphal* (**נכבד**), l'emploi de **דלות** qui n'est attesté qu'en hébreu rabbinique (33).

11,1 Le stique b est cité en *j. Ber.* 7,2 combiné avec une citation de Pr 4,8 alors attribué à Ben Sira : **בסיפרי דבן סירא כתיב סלסליה** : « Dans le livre de Ben Sira, il est écrit : 'Exalte-la et elle t'élèvera et au milieu des princes elle te fera siéger' ». Comparer également avec la sentence de 4QInstruction (4Q416 2 iii 11) : **כי מראש הרים ראושכה ועם נדיבים הושיבכה** : « Car de la pauvreté, il a relevé ta tête et il t'a fait siéger avec les princes ». **תשיבנו** — Noter la graphie défective rare de H^A.

11,2 **מכ[וע]ר** — Le verbe **כער**, « être laid, répugnant », non attesté en hébreu biblique, se trouve deux fois en Ben Sira (Sir 13,22^A) et dans la littérature rabbinique. Rüger renvoie judicieusement à Na 3,6 : **כראי ושמתוך כאורה** transcrit **כראי ושמתוך** en 4Q169 (pNah) 3-4 iii 1-2 et traduit par **ואשוינך מכערא לעיני כל חזק** dans le Targum.

11,3 **אליל** — Au pluriel, le terme désigne les idoles (cf. Si 30,19^B). Le singulier est rare en hébreu biblique (Job 13,4 ; Is 10,10 ; Jr 14,14 ; Za 11,17) et y signifie « le vide, le néant » avec une connotation clairement négative (l'étymologie est incertaine, peut-être de **אלל**). Le

(32) Voir Kister, « Some Notes », 1999, 161-162.

(33) Di Lella considère ces deux derniers stiques comme des rétroversions du syriaque (A. A. Di Lella, *The Hebrew Text of Sirach. A Text-Critical and Historical Study* [The Hague : Mouton, 1966]), mais voir les critiques légitimes de W. Th. van Peursen « The Alleged Retroversions from Syriac in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira Revisited : Linguistic Perspectives », *Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprachen des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt* 2 (2001) : 47-95 et *ibidem*, *The Verbal System*, 20-21.

terme pourrait alors désigner « la petitesse, la faiblesse, la fragilité » de l'abeille, sens que le terme reçoit ultérieurement en syriaque. Pourtant, le traducteur syriaque n'a pas rendu l'hébreu אֵלִיל par son équivalent אֵלֵל, mais par אֵלֵל qui rejoint davantage le sens premier de l'hébreu : « méprisable, négligeable ». Cela montre qu'il n'opérerait pas une équivalence sémantique entre אֵלִיל et אֵלֵל. Le grec suit la leçon du doublet de H^B (קטנה, μικρά). Cf. Papyrus Insiger 25,2 : « La petite abeille apporte le miel » (34).

11,4 H^B présente un doublet dont le premier stique diffère radicalement de celui de H^A. אֲזַר — La restauration אֲזַר qui a l'appui de H^{B2} et peut-être également du syriaque (ܐܙܪܐ), est la lecture à retenir et rend caduque la lecture אֲפַר, « celui qui est vêtu de cendre » (cf. Est 4,1) ou אֲבַר, « celui qui est vêtu de misère », selon Lévi. אֲזַר qui désigne la ceinture en hébreu biblique (cf. Jr 13,1-11) doit évoquer ici le pagne, le vêtement du misérable. תהתל — Le verbe התל (+ ב), « se moquer, tourner en ridicule » n'est attesté qu'en 1 R 18,27, en Si 13,7^A et en hébreu rabbinique. וְאֵתְקַלַּם — Pour l'emploi du verbe קלם (+ ב) au *piel* dans le sens de « se moquer » voir aussi 1QpHab IV 1.3. בַּמְרִירִי יוֹם — Le terme מְרִירִי n'est attesté ailleurs qu'en Dt 32,24 (קָטַב מְרִירִי), cf. Am 8,10 (מֵר יוֹם), traduit par מְרִירִי dans le Targum et par מְרִירִי dans la Peshitta. La même expression semble également être attestée en 1QH^a XIII 36 (בַּמְרִירִי יוֹם) et peut-être en Job 3,5. Le stique peut être compris diversement : dans le prolongement du précédent : « Ne te moque pas de l'amertume d'un jour » (ainsi le syriaque ܠܒܝ ܥܡܐ ܐܡܪܬܐ ܥܬܬܡܐ) ou « ne te moque pas du jour d'amertume » ; ou encore, בַּמְרִירִי יוֹם pourrait être complément de temps et קלם employé intransitivement : « Au jour d'amertume, ne te moque pas » (cf. 10,26). וְנִעְלַם — Le *niph'al* de נִעְלַם signifie « être caché » ou « être obscur » (1 R 10,3 // 2 C 9,2), « être impénétrable » (Job 28,21).

11,5 H^B présente un doublet dont le dernier stique (*d*) diffère de H^A. וְבַל עַל לֵב — La plupart des chercheurs estiment que la formule a subi une altération par *homoioarcton* et qu'il faut corriger le texte soit en וְבַל עָלוּ עַל לֵב (Segal), soit en וְבַל עָלִים עַל לֵב (Smend, Di Lella). La formule idiomatique וְעָלָה עַל לֵב est bien attestée dans le sens de « se préoccuper de », « venir à l'esprit » (cf. Is 65,17 ; Jr 3,16 ; Si 32,11^B). Sans nécessairement corriger l'hébreu (qui a ici l'appui de H^B), on peut supposer l'ellipse du verbe et comprendre « ceux

(34) Voir N. Calduch-Benages, « Animal Imagery in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira » dans *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira. Transmission and Interpretation* (ed. J. Joosten and J.-S. Rey ; JSJS 150, Leiden - Boston : Brill, 2011), 55-71 (66-67).

dont nul ne se préoccupe ». צָנִיף — Signe de la royauté, coiffe royale, turban ou diadème, cf. 40,4 ; 47,6.

11,6 Ce verset présente, comme les précédents, une certaine confusion au niveau de sa transmission textuelle. נִשְׂאִים — Le scribe a vocalisé un participe *niphal* « ceux qui sont élevés » (cf. Is 2,13). Grec et syriaque ont lu נִשְׂאָם « chef, prince, responsable » donnant ainsi le volet antithétique des נִדְכָּאִים du v. 5. נִקְלוּ מֵאֵד וְהִשְׁפִּילוּ יָחַד — Le stique est anormalement long et la dernière proposition pourrait être un doublet. Elle est absente de H^B qui ajoute un stique. Cependant, si le grec retient les deux premiers termes, le syriaque atteste le premier et le dernier. Rüger considère cette dernière proposition comme un ajout plus tardif en raison de ses caractéristiques mishniques, mais rien ne permet de l'affirmer. Si le *hophal* de שָׁפַל n'est pas attesté en hébreu biblique ni à Qumrân, l'emploi fréquent du *hiphil* rend son usage plausible. Enfin l'emploi adverbial de יחד en position postverbale est bien attesté en hébreu biblique. נִתְּנוּ בְיָד — Pour l'emploi de l'expression idiomatique נָתַן בְּיָד sans complément, voir 1 S 26,23 et 2 C 25,20.

11,7 Le manuscrit B déplace le verset 7 entre deux distiques doublons du verset 8. אֵל תִּסְלֶף — Le verbe סָלַף rend le sens de ce verset obscur. En hébreu biblique, qumranien et rabbinique il signifie « pervertir quelque chose ou quelqu'un, fausser, déformer » (le sens de « rejeter » est également attesté en Pr 21,12 ; 22,12) et est toujours transitif. C'est dans ce sens qu'il est employé en Si 11,34 où il est rendu en grec par διαστρέφω. Ni le grec, ni le syriaque ne rendent ici ce sens de l'hébreu סָלַף ; le grec l'a traduit par μέμφομαι, « réprimander, blâmer », qui n'est employé ailleurs qu'en Si 41,7 où il traduit l'hébreu קָבַב et en 2 M 2,7 ; tandis que le syriaque emploie le verbe ܐܬܗܦܐܠ au *ethpa'al*, « partager, communiquer, faire une alliance, un partenariat », mais qui rend habituellement l'hébreu חָבַר (35). Lévi propose de donner au verbe le sens de « ne porte pas un jugement téméraire », ce qui paraît cohérent pour le contexte (Clines « perh. find fault » ; Mopsik : « n'accuse pas » ou encore, « ne crie pas à la fraude »). בָּקַר — Dans le sens de « scruter, réfléchir » (cf. Pr 20,25). תִּזְיֶה — Ce verbe fait également difficulté. Il peut s'agir du verbe נִזְיָה attesté en araméen et en mishnique, « réprimander, châtier » (ainsi le grec ἐπιτίμαω), ou de זָיָה également araméen et mishnique, « falsifier, dénoncer comme faux, réfuter », ce qui fournirait un bon parallèle à סָלַף du stique précédent.

(35) Sur la version syriaque de ce verset, voir C. Kearns, *The Expanded Text of Ecclesiasticus. Its Teaching on the Future Life as a Clue to Its Origin* (DCLS 11 ; Berlin : Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 298.

11,8 Cf. Pr 18,13 ; 4Q525 14 ii 22-24 ; 1QS VI 10 ; 4Q420 1a-b ii 1-3 - 4Q421 1ab ii 13-14 (36) ; *m. Abot* 5,7. Ce verset de Pr 18,13 est cité et attribué à Ben Sira dans *b. B. Bat.* 98b : כדכתיב בספר בן : סירא ... וקל מאורה משיב דבר בטרם ישמע שנאמר משיב דבר בטרם ישמע.

11,9 Le sens du premier stique est obscur. עצה — Le féminin de עצה (voir aussi Si 38,18^B) n'est pas attesté en hébreu biblique, mais apparaît en hébreu rabbinique (Jastrow, 1101). Le terme évoque la peine, le labeur, la douleur. H^B a עצה, « le conseil », mais aucun des deux textes ne s'accorde avec le grec et le syriaque. Ce dernier pourrait refléter une *Vorlage* עצמה « force » (même erreur possible en Si 38,18, où עצמה est traduit par ἰσχύς en grec), tandis que le grec devrait correspondre à אין עסק לך comme en Si 3,22^A. Il faut néanmoins noter que le Latin (*quae te non molestat*) et la syrohexaple (גלע חמל) confirmeraient H^A. אל תאחר — Le *piel*, « ne tarde pas » (cf. Si 5,7) est étonnant et on aurait attendu le *hitpael*, « ne t'attarde pas » comme en 7,34. H^B n'est guère plus clair en lisant תתור, « n'examine pas, n'observe pas ». Le grec, ἔριξε, et le syriaque, ܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܠܥܝܢܐ, « ne te dispute pas », semblent avoir lu תתחר, graphiquement proche des leçons de H^A et H^B. וברב — La forme peut être vocalisée בַּרְב (בְּרַב), « dans la multitude des présomptueux » ou, en accord avec H^B, et le grec βῆρβ, « dans la querelle, le procès des présomptueux » (cf. Ps 1,5).

11,10 למה — Le grec (μή) et le syriaque (ܘܠܡܐ) ont compris la particule למה comme une particule négative : « Mon fils ne multiplie pas tes occupations, car celui qui... ». עשק — Orthographié עסק ailleurs en Ben Sira (cf. 3,22^A ; 7,25^{A,C} ; 38,24^B ; 40,1^B). Le tilde au-dessus du mot et les trois points en forme de *segol* dans la marge indiquent probablement cette variante orthographique. Le terme est au singulier mais doit avoir un sens collectif.

11,11 וכדי כן — La vocalisation כְּדִי a été corrigée en כְּדִי. Cette particule fréquente en hébreu mishnique est attestée quatre fois en hébreu biblique (Lv 25,26 ; Dt 25,2 ; Jg 6,5 ; Ne 5,8). La construction כן וכדי ne semble pas être attestée ailleurs. Selon van Peursen (37), son sens devrait être proche des expressions mishniques כל שכן « d'autant plus, de fait, il va de soi » et כמו כן « également, de la même manière ».

11,12 רשש — Le verbe רשש n'est attesté que deux fois en hébreu biblique (Jr 5,17 ; Ml 1,4) où il a le sens de « démanteler,

(36) É. Puech, « Ben Sira and Qumran » in *The Wisdom of Ben Sira. Studies on Tradition, Redaction, and Theology* (ed. A. Passaro and G. Bellia ; DCLS 1 ; New York : Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 79-118 (89).

(37) Van Peursen, *The Verbal System*, 387.

détruire ». Il disparaît de l'hébreu rabbinique pour réapparaître sporadiquement dans quelques *piyyoutim* médiévaux. Les racines רשש et רוש (dont le *polet* est attesté en Si 13,5 ainsi qu'en hébreu médiéval) semblent se recouper, רשש désignant le pauvre en ce sens qu'il est brisé (cf. *Midr. Prov.* XXI מהלך — Le substantif appartient à l'hébreu tardif (Ne 2,6 ; Ez 42,4 ; Jon 3,3,4 ; Za 3,7) et pourrait être un aramaïsme (38). Pour une question de longueur de stique, le terme devrait appartenir au stique *a* (ainsi Segal) : « Il y a celui qui est brisé et qui avance accablé/détruit » ; van Peursen (39) traduit « someone whose guidance, direction has ceased » ou « someone whose pursuit of desire has ceased » (cf. Qo 6,9 ; Jb 31,7 avec Smend). Cependant, le scribe a ponctué après אבד, ce qui suppose de rattacher מהלך avec le stique *b*. Le terme n'est traduit ni en grec, ni en syriaque. ועץ — Cf. Pr 15,3 et Ps 66,7. רינעריהו מעפר — Pour l'expression, voir Is 52,2, « il le secoue », c'est-à-dire il le « sort » de la poussière. צהנה — L'emploi de ce terme qui n'est employé ailleurs en hébreu biblique qu'en Jl 2,20, dans le sens de « puanteur », est étonnant. Le terme est attesté en araméen et en hébreu rabbinique bien plus tardif. Le syriaque rend l'expression par une formule stéréotypée מעפר ואפר.

11,13 נשא — On aurait attendu un *wayyiqtol* plutôt qu'un *qatal* en tête de proposition (40). Pour la construction de נשא avec la préposition ב pour introduire l'objet, voir peut-être 1QSb III 3 (ישא ברושכה), IV 23.

11,14 Cf. 33,14 ; 37,18 ; 39,24–25 et Is 45,7.

11,15–16 Ces deux distiques, absents du Gr I et de la version latine sont attestés en Gr II et en syriaque (41).

11,15 והבין דבר — Cf. 1 S 16,18 ; Si 33,3 : « Maîtrise de la parole » ou « connaissance, intelligence des choses ». ודרכים ישרים — L'expression, en opposition à חטא, a une connotation morale, une « conduite droite, intègre », cf. Esd 8,21 ; Ps 107,7 ; Pr 14,12 ; 16,25 ; Jr 31,9.

11,16 שכלות — Le terme סכלות, « folie », n'est attesté qu'en Qohelet, à Qumrân en 1QS VII 14 et par., puis dans des *piyyoutim* plus tardifs. נוצרה — Certainement à corriger en נוצרו avec Segal.

11,18 מתעשר — Pour le *hitpaal* de עשר dans le sens de « s'enrichir », voir Pr 13,7. מהתענות — Pour l'emploi du *hitpaal* de ענה

(38) M. F. Rooker, *Biblical Hebrew in transition* (JSOT 90 ; Sheffield : Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 167-169.

(39) Van Peursen, *The Verbal System*, 213.

(40) Van Peursen, *The Verbal System*, 150.

(41) F. V. Reiterer, « Die immateriellen Ebenen der Schöpfung bei Ben Sira » in *Treasures of Wisdom: Studies in Ben Sira and the Book of Wisdom. Festschrift Maurice Gilbert* (ed. M. Gilbert, N. Calduch-Benages and J. Vermeulen ; BETL 143 ; Leuven : Peeters, 1999), 91-127 (102-4).

dans le sens de s'infliger des humiliations, des mortifications, voir Esd 8,21 ; Dn 10,12 ; 11QT XXV 12 ; XXVII 7. La construction מן suivi de l'infinitif construit exprime ici la causalité. יְהִיב — L'emploi du verbe חוב rend le sens de ce stique difficile et les trois points en marge pourraient indiquer une erreur. Ce verbe n'est attesté qu'en Dn 1,10 au *piel* dans le sens « rendre coupable ». On pourrait alors comprendre qu'il y a celui dont le salaire, c'est-à-dire la richesse, témoigne de sa culpabilité dans le sens qu'il s'agit d'une richesse mal acquise. En hébreu mishnique, le verbe peut également avoir le sens d'« être responsable de quelque chose, être redevable ».

11,19 ובעת א[מ]ר — Pour la construction בעת suivi de l'infinitif construit Si 3,31^A ; 4,31^C ; 5,7^C ; 44,17^C (42). לא ידע מה — cf. Pr 27,1. ק[ץ] חלה — Si la lecture que nous avons proposée est exacte, l'expression est subtile. Dans Ben Sira, קץ peut évoquer le temps de façon assez générale (voir Si 43,6^{B,M}), la fin (Si 41,4^M ; 43,27^B), le temps de la fin (voir Si 36,10^B), la mort (46,20^B). C'est cette idée du temps qui s'écoule vers la fin, vers la mort, que le terme évoque. Idée renforcée par l'emploi du verbe חלה qui évoque la notion d'un passage rapide, quelque chose qui glisse, qui file rapidement (voir Jb 9,11.26 ; 11,10). וע[ו] ב[ו] — S'il faut lire un *waw* et non un *he*, alors l'antécédent du pronom suffixe n'est pas totalement clair.

11,20 תִּרְעֶה — Pour le *hitpael* de רעה voir Pr 22,24 et 4Q509 12i-13 6. Le verbe doit être pris ici dans son sens araméen : « avoir plaisir dans », « désirer » (voir Tg Nb 16,7 ; 12,5), tandis que le grec et le syriaque semblent l'avoir compris dans son sens hébreu « se faire l'ami de », « entrer en relation avec ». התישן — Le *hitpael* de ישן n'est pas attesté en hébreu biblique ou à Qumrân, mais on le trouve en hébreu rabbinique dans le sens de « s'améliorer, se bonifier avec l'âge/vieillir » (cf. *Sifre Dt* 48 : מה יין את טועם טעם מתחילתו וכל זמן : « Tu goûtes la saveur du vin lorsqu'il est jeune, mais plus il vieillit dans l'amphore, plus il se bonifie. »)

11,21 ת[ת]מָה — « Ne t'étonne pas » (cf. Qo 5,7). וקוה — Cf. Jb 3,9 ; Is 59,9 ; Jr 13,16. ב[פ]תַע פתאום — Pour l'expression redondante, cf. Nb 6,9 ; 1QH^a IV 17 ; 4Q510 1 6 ; 4Q511 10 2.

11,22-26 Ces versets manquent dans le syriaque probablement par *homoioarcton* (cf. en grec ὅτι κοῦφον en 21c et 26a).

11,22 בְּנִרְל — Cf. Ps 125,3 ; 1Q34bis 3 i 2. Pour l'emploi de la préposition *bet* pour introduire l'attribut, Smend renvoie à Ex 18,4 et Pr 3,26.

(42) Cf. van Peursen, *The Verbal System*, 270.334.

11,23 עֲשֵׂיתִי חֶפְצִי — L'expression peut être négative, assouvir son propre désir ou חֶפֶץ peut renvoyer à « l'ouvrage », au « travail », à la « tâche » (cf. 10,26). לִי יֵעֻז עֵזֶב — « secourir » comme en Ex 23,5 ; Ne 3,8 ; Si 3,13^A.

11,24 דִּי — Graphie longue de דִּי, יִי représentant la diphtongue -ay ; cette graphie est bien attestée dans l'hébreu plus tardif. דִּאֲנָה — Si le terme est plutôt rare en hébreu biblique, il est bien attesté chez Ben Sira (Si 30,24^B ; 31,1-2^B ; 40,5^B ; 42,9^{M,B}).

11,25 L'organisation des versets semble perturbée. Le verset 27 est un doublet des stiques *b* et *c* du v. 25, mais ce doublet devait être originel (parallélisme synonymique), il est attesté dans le grec qui ajoute un v. 26 absent de l'hébreu : « Car il est facile pour le Seigneur, au jour de la fin, de rendre à l'homme selon ses voies ». ואַחֲרֵית — Le terme désigne certainement la mort comme ailleurs dans le Siracide (3,26^A ; 11,28^A ; 16,3^{A,B}). À Qumrân, le terme a une claire connotation eschatologique, à de rares exceptions près où il désigne la descendance (4Q171 1-10 IV 16.18 citation de Ps 36,37-38 ; 4Q416 2 iii 16 ; voir aussi le grec de Si 11,28), il est toujours attesté sous la forme תְּהִיָּה עָלָיו. אַחֲרֵית הַעֵת, ou אַחֲרֵית הַקֶּץ, אַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים — Segal propose de corriger en תְּחִיָּה עָלָיו en accord avec le grec et en parallèle à 27b. Cependant, une telle correction ne s'impose guère. L'hébreu a l'appui du syriaque dont le v. 27 semble correspondre à notre v. 25. La préposition עַל peut ici avoir le sens de « selon, en relation avec, sur la base de, à cause de », cf. KBL 4, BDB 1f. On peut donc comprendre la proposition : « La fin de l'homme (s.e. sa mort) sera en fonction de lui (s.e. en fonction de ce qu'il a été) » (43). La proposition est elliptique mais fait sens.

11,27 יֵגִיד עָלָיו — Pour la construction נָגַד עַל avec עַל dans le sens de « concernant », cf. BDB 617, à Qumrân, voir 4Q223-224 2 V 21 ; 4Q271 3 15.

11,28 Ce verset présente un doublet, le second est cité par Saadia Gaon : סֵפֶר הַגְּלוּיָהּ לְפָנַי מוֹת אֵל תֹּאשֶׁר גָּבַר כִּי בְאַחֲרֵיתוֹ יִתְנַכֵּר אִישׁ (éd. Harkavy, 179). יֹאשֶׁר — Le *pual* de אִשַׁר n'est attesté qu'en Ps 41,3 ; Pr 3,18. וּבְאַחֲרֵיתוֹ — Le *waw*, comme au stique *b* du v. 29, pourrait avoir un sens causal. Pour le sens de אַחֲרֵית, voir v. 25. יִנְכֹּר — Pour le *niphal* de נָכַר dans le sens de « reconnaître », voir Pr 26,24 et Lam 4,8, sens également attesté en hébreu rabbinique.

11,29-32 Plusieurs stiques de ces versets sont cités dans *b. Yeb.* 63b et *b. Sanh.* 100b. Nous donnons ici le texte complet pour mettre en valeur l'organisation qui diffère considérablement de notre témoin : כְּנִיצוֹן (v. 30h) הַמְּרַגְלִים לְדַבֵּר עֲרוּהָ (v. 29b.30c) רַבִּים הָיוּ פְּצָעֵי רוּכָל

(43) Voir van Peursen, *The Verbal System*, 95.

ככלוב מלא עוף כן בתייהם מלאים מרמה (v. 32a) מבעיר גחלת (v. 29de ; Jr 5,27) מנע רבים מתוך ביתך ולא הכל תביא ביתך (v. 29b, ce dernier stique est cité deux fois en *b. Sanh.* 100b) (44).

11,29 Cf. *b. Yeb.* 63b et *b. Sanh.* 100b. פצעי — Cf. Pr 27,6 : פצעי אוהב « Les blessures d'un ami ». רוכל — Part. *qal* de la racine רכל. La plupart des commentateurs lui donnent le sens de « calomniateur » (45), sens propre à Ben Sira (ici et v. 30g). La racine qui est attestée dans la plupart des dialectes nord-ouest sémitiques, renvoie à l'action de vendre avec l'idée possible de commerce itinérant. Le participe רוכל désignant spécifiquement le marchand, le colporteur. BDB (940a) note comme sens premier de la racine « go about, from one to another », ce qui a pu amener le sens de commérage que l'on retrouve dans la forme dérivée רכיל (הולך רכיל). Si un tel sens pour רוכל paraît plausible dans notre contexte (c'est dans un sens proche que l'ont rendu le grec, δόλιος, et le syriaque, ܕܠܝܝܐ), il ne semble pas être attesté ailleurs dans la littérature postérieure et ne s'impose pas nécessairement. En effet, Ben Sira pourrait viser le colporteur malhonnête qui profite de la faiblesse des gens pour les dépouiller. Une telle interprétation s'accorderait avec le contexte et en particulier avec 30c, doublet de notre stique, où l'équivalent de רוכל est בוצע, « celui qui est avide de rapines, qui cherche des profits malhonnêtes » (cf. Ez 22,27 ; Ha 2,9 ; Pr 1,19 ; 15,27) (46). La citation de ce verset dans *b. Sanh.* 100b et *b. Yeb.* 63b va également dans ce sens. Les deux textes associent le colporteur, non pas au vol, mais aux relations sexuelles illégitimes et regroupent notre verset avec Si 9,9 ; ils insèrent entre les stiques *c* et *d* la sentence de 30h qui vise à expliciter le terme רוכל : גחלת מבעיר כניצוץ מבעיר גחלת : רוכל « ceux qui incitent à pratiquer la chose sexuelle ». מרמה — Ce distique qui est une citation littérale de Jr 5,27 manque dans les versions grecques et syriaques mais est attesté dans les citations talmudiques de Ben Sira (*b. Sanh.* 100b et *b. Yeb.* 63b).

11,30 La transmission de ce verset a dû subir quelques perturbations, bien que l'hébreu fasse sens. 30b-g manquent dans le grec, tandis que le syriaque conserve cinq stiques correspondant plus ou moins à 30a,c,d,e,f et ajoute un stique *b* qui ne semble pas avoir de correspondant en hébreu. כעוף אחז — Cf. Qo 9,12. מה רבו פשעי בוצע —

(44) Voir B. G. Wright, « B. Sanhedrin 100b and Rabbinic Knowledge of Ben Sira » in *Treasures of Wisdom: Studies in Ben Sira and the Book of Wisdom. Festschrift Maurice Gilbert* (ed. M. Gilbert, N. Calduch-Benages and J. Vermeylen ; BETL 143 ; Leuven : Peeters, 1999), 41-50.

(45) Voir par exemple : Smend, Segal.

(46) Levi traduit cependant בוצע également par « calomniateur » en raison de sa traduction en grec par σκάνδαλον en Si 7,6

Doublet de 29b. Si ce doublet ne figure pas dans le grec, il est néanmoins attesté par le syriaque. פשע — Pour l'emploi de פשע en contexte de fraudes liées au vol, voir Ex 22,8. בית: ... ככלב — La proposition est ainsi ponctuée dans le manuscrit mais le syriaque a lu ככלב הוא בא וכל בית חומס « il est comme un chien qui vient et toute la maison est dévastée » (ainsi Lévi, Segal). אורב ... לבית לצים — Pour ... ל (cf. Dt 19,11 ; Jos 8,4). Comme le note Lévi, לצים qui a un sens péjoratif et désigne les moqueurs chez Ben Sira (cf. Si 3,28^A ; Si 8,11^A ; Si 13,1^A ; 15,8^{A,B} ; 31,26^B...), s'accorde mal avec le contexte. En l'absence de parallèle dans le grec et le syriaque, il est difficile de proposer une conjecture. וכמרנל יראה ערוה — Ce dernier stique fait également difficulté. Il est absent du syriaque, mais est cité dans le Talmud entre les stiques *c* et *d* (המרנלים לדבר ערוה) et est présent en grec qui néanmoins a πῶς ὡς (« comme l'espion, il guette la chute ») qui semble plus approprié dans le contexte. Pour ערוה, dans le sens de « point faible », voir Gn 42,9 et Dt 24,1 (Mopsik traduit « Les parties honteuses »).

11,32 Le premier stique est cité dans *b. Sanh.* 100b et *b. Yeb.* 63b à la suite de 30h. Smend et Segal rapprochent ce stique d'un aphorisme de l'Alphabet de Ben Sira, mais le parallèle reste assez lâche : נור דליק מוקיד [ין] גדישין סגיאין (47) « un feu allume de nombreux foyers de gerbes ». מנצוץ — Seule autre attestation en hébreu biblique en Is 1,31. ואיש בליעל — Cf. 1 S 25,25 ; 2 S 16,7 ; 20,1 ; Pr 6,12 (אדם בליעל) ; 16,27 ; 4Q177 2 4 ; 4Q379 22 ii 9 ; 4Q425 1+3 7.

11,33 למה — Pour למה dans le sens de פן, voir 1 S 19,17 ; 2 S 2,22 ; Si 8,1^A ; 11,33^A ; 12,5^A. 12^A ; 30,12^B. מום — Le terme renvoie ici à un défaut d'ordre moral comme en Pr 9,7 ; Jb 11,15 ; Si 33,23^E ; Si 44,19^B ; Si 47,20^B.

12,1 תריע — *Scriptio plena* du *hiphil* de רעע. Certains ont lu תדיע (Adler, Ben Ḥayyim, Beentjes), cette lecture n'est pas nécessairement à exclure à condition de lire תדע (*reš* et *dalet* pouvant se confondre dans l'écriture de ce scribe) : « Si tu fais du bien sache à qui tu le fais, pour qu'il puisse y avoir un espoir à ta bonté ». L'articulation avec le stique suivant paraît alors plus claire ; c'est en tout cas ce qu'a compris le grec (Smend propose de corriger en אם תטיב דע mais cela ne s'impose guère). Le syriaque, quant à lui, a lu אם תטיב רע ce qui montre que la confusion générée par la proximité graphique du *reš* et du *dalet* est bien antérieure à notre copie.

(47) Édition E. Yassif, *סיפורי בן סירה בימי הביניים. מהדורה ביקורתית ופרקי מחקר* (« The Tales of Ben Sira in the Middle-Ages: A Critical Text and Literary Studies ») (Jerusalem : The Magness Press ; The Hebrew University, 1984), 273.

11,34 Ce distique qui est un doublet de 11,34 est étrangement situé après 12,1 et pose bon nombre de difficultés. משוכן — Faut-il lire : (1) un participe *qal* précédé de מן, « de celui qui réside » ; (2) une erreur orthographique pour le substantif מִשְׁכָּן « la demeure » (cf. Jb 21,28) ; (3) מִשְׁכֵּן « le résident, le voisin » ; (4) ou, enfin, corriger en הִשְׁכֵּן, « fais résider, installe » en accord avec le grec (ἐνοικισσον, ainsi Smend) ? זָרִי — La forme, ainsi vocalisée, est sans parallèle et difficilement explicable sans lui imposer une correction : (1) lire זר ou זרים comme l'atteste le grec (ἀλλότριον) ; (2) ou זר / זרים « présomptueux(x) » en parallèle avec 11,34a (רשע). זָהִיר — Là encore, il est nécessaire de corriger le terme, probablement en הִזְהֵר « sois averti, prends garde, fais attention ». דרכיך — Selon Segal, ce dernier terme est un doublet de 11,34a et doit donc être supprimé. Il restaure ainsi le verset : זָר הִזְהֵר מִשְׁכָּן זָר הִזְהֵר « fais attention au résident étranger » ; mais on pourrait également restaurer דרכיך דרכיך (ו)הִזְהֵר זר, « (si) tu fais résider l'étranger, prends garde à tes voies car... » (48). וינכריך — Le scribe a ajouté un *yod* supralinéaire entre le *reš* et le *kaph* final, mais on a du mal à en percevoir la pertinence (ce pourrait être un *waw* supra-linéaire, voir la tête du premier *waw*). En hébreu rabbinique, le *piel* de נכר peut signifier « traiter comme un étranger, discriminer ».

Jean-Sébastien REY

(48) Pour la syntaxe de ce type d'impératif de condition, voir van Peursen, *The Verbal System*, 182–183.

THE DAMASCUS DOCUMENT (D) AS A REWRITING OF THE COMMUNITY RULE (S)

Summary

The present study undertakes a literary comparison of the Community Rule (S) and the Damascus Document (D). It turns out that D closely follows the textual organization of 1QS V-VII. The long Fourth Admonition in D is in basic parts an elaboration of 1QS V,1-7a. The reference to 1QS V-VII skips the middle part of D, and continues directly in CD XV (1QS V,7b). From there it can be traced, almost verse by verse, until the end of the Penal Code in D. Reference to 1QS V-VII thus covers nearly the whole composition of D. It is lacking only in D's large middle part, apart from its edges, and in the beginning and end of D, which parallel sections of 1QS I-IV. An interesting role in the further development of D is not only played by the Book of Jubilees, but also by 1QS VIII-IX, which might have been composed by S as a reaction to D's rewriting of 1QS V-VII, but it also influenced D. As a whole, the Damascus Document is best understood as a rewriting (*Fortschreibung*) of the Community Rule, although D also shaped S.

IN the past few years a study-group at Göttingen has investigated the Community Rule (S) and the Damascus Document (D). It turned out that beyond thematical points of contact and scattered literary parallels, which have long been observed, an overarching connection exists. To visualize the results, we might start from the common observation that D refers to Scripture much more than S does. If we subtract from the far longer composition D those passages, which are strongly based on Scripture, including Jubilees, and the extensive law section in the middle of D, we reach S as it is perceived by D. In D, the units of S occur in almost exactly the same order and with hardly any of them missing. Literary growth of S, which is visible among the S manuscripts, is reflected in the textual

arrangement of D. The Damascus Document can best be regarded as a rewriting (“*Fortschreibung*”) of the Community Rule, basically of 1QS V-VII. Its relationship to S compares to the relationship of Deuteronomy to the Covenant Code, or to that of the Penal Code in S to the Covenant Code. Reinhard Kratz has recently demonstrated this exemplarily. (1)

The following analysis presents the correspondences between S and D in a systematic way, which allows for various kinds of interpretation and later modification. (2) It was written in order to honour our friend and teacher Emile Puech. (3) And it is meant as a tool for further studies of both texts, as well as the communities behind them. May these fields of Qumran research flourish as well as Emile’s precious and incomparable work for many years to come.

1. Corresponding Structures of S and D

The chart below displays D in its original sequence, which was reconstructed by J. T. Milik and J. Baumgarten, and later materially approved by H. Stegemann. (4) It notes the corresponding units in D

(1) Reinhard G. Kratz, “Der Penal Code und das Verhältnis von Serekh ha-Yachad (S) und Damaskusschrift (D),” *Revue de Qumran* 25, 2 (2011): 199-227. The present study is a product of an ongoing dialogue with the Göttingen Qumran-Community, especially with Reinhard Kratz. I am grateful for this cooperation.

(2) In order not to overload this article, names will not be mentioned of those who meticulously searched for correspondences between S and D, basically the first commentators of S and translators. Widely used is a list of a number of S and D correspondences, which Eibert Tigchelaar produced from the DJD-Series (“Annotated List of Overlaps and Parallels in the Non-biblical Texts from Qumran and Masada,” in Emanuel Tov, *The Texts from the Judaean Desert. Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 39. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 285-322). I refrain here from taking part in the rich discussion of different models, which undertake to explain the textual development and the relationship of S and D, see recently e.g. Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 77. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2009, and Charlotte Hempel, “Shared Traditions: Points of Contact Between S and D,” in Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman, and Eileen Schuller, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 92. Leiden: E. J. Brill 2010, 115-131.

(3) The order of S and D, as it results from the presented analysis, meets with Emile Puech’s view, as well as that of Hartmut Stegemann. Both regard the composition of D younger than that of S. They reason in their works mainly from a historical point of view. This approach is not used in the present study.

(4) Joseph M. Baumgarten, and Józef T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII. The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XVIII. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. Hartmut Stegemann, “Towards Physical Reconstructions of the

and S section by section. (5) One graphic distinction is made in depicting the material: The units which follow the continuous flow of the S text, are presented on the *left* side of each column in the chart. (6) Other sections are noted in the *right* part of each column. These are the sections where either no basic S-correspondence can be traced or sections which have a basic S-correspondence, but which breaks the sequence of the textual flow. In very few cases it is uncertain whether a section belongs to the basic text (left) or to the additional sections (right). They will be discussed below in section 2. No differentiations are made between literary strata, neither within the main text, nor in the expansions, but they certainly exist. Some remarks on this will be given in sections 2 and 3. In order not to overload the list with numbers: D is counted whenever possible according to the medieval manuscripts CD, even when parallel texts in 4QD exist. In those cases, where CD-text is not available, the 4QD-manuscripts are listed. Differently from S and apart from the versions in CD A and B, the readings in the D-manuscripts and in CD vary only to a very small extent. With respect to S, 1QS as the most comprehensive version of S is the basis of the comparison with D. At times a 4QS-version might preserve the closer parallel to D.

The Damascus Document is a highly complex literary composition. Numerous points of contact exist, to Scripture, to Qumran texts, but also to other parallels in S, which are not mentioned in the list. The aim of this study was to trace the *basic* points of contact, which lead like a thread through the composition, and which build the structure of S and D. Finding them has to be done very carefully. A difficulty is the Qumran language, which is rooted in Scripture, and frequently standard Qumran formulations are taken from Scripture. They often seem to have come to D via S (see e.g. CD I,7-8 par 1QS VIII,5). All these cases must be judged individually. Caution is necessary in places where D might have had more than one parallel in S, because some sections are similar to each other, as 1QS VIII and IX. Presuppositions

Qumran Damascus Document Scrolls," in Joseph M. Baumgarten, Esther Chazon, and Avital Pinnick, *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4-8 February 1998*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 34. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000, 177-200. A very low number of arrangements and identifications in Baumgarten and Milik, 1996, might be questionable, as that of 4Q266 frg. 1c-f. But they are too small to be of decisive relevance for our analysis.

(5) Baumgarten and Milik, 1996, 3-5.

(6) The literary analysis can be tested by reading the basic sections, that is the left side of the D-column in the chart, consecutively. The sequence should form a readable text.

about textual growth and literary layers have to be left aside. For presenting the observations in an article, even in a chart, there is a need to chose and to simplify, but not to oversimplify. In the awareness of all these nets of Belial, the search for S in D was undertaken and noted in this article. Its starting point was the Penal Code, plus the correspondence to 1QS II at the end of D, as well as the Third Admonition with parallels to parts of 1QS III-IV.

The basic correspondences between S and D are of a very divergent nature. Sometimes both texts show a close, even literal relationship, sometimes D is largely elaborating S, at other times, much harder to see, a link through keywords builds the connection between S and D, or both simply share the same topic. A summary which succeeds the list provides a quick overview of its main results, while a closer view of the corresponding sections is given below in section 2.

Basic Correspondences between D and S:

Damascus Document (D)	Community Rule (S)
4Q266 1,1-5a Introduction	1QS I-IV (without II; for II s. below) 1QS III,13-IV,26
4Q266 1,5b-2i,6a First Admonition	1QS I-IV(?)
CD I,1-II,1 Second Admonition	1QS VIII
CD II,2-13 Third Admonition	1QS III,25c-IV,6 and IV,11b-14 + III,15 + IV,22
CD II,14-XX,34 Fourth Admonition II,14-17a II,17b-III,12a III,12b-IV,12b Add. IV,12c-19a Add. IV,19b-V,15a	1QS V-VII 1QS V,1-7a Decalogue of Community Principles (7) 1QS V,1-7a Jub (s. below ch. 3) 1QS V,1-7a (+ 1QS V,10-12) 1QS V,1-7a 1QS V,1-7a

(7) The title is taken from Bilha Nitzan, “The Decalogue Pattern in the Qumran Rule of the Community,” in: Daniel K. Falk, Sarianna Metso, Donald W. Parry, and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited. Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after the Discovery: Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 91, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2010, 57-75.

Damascus Document (D)	Community Rule (S)
V,15b-VI,1 Add. VI,2-11 VI,11-VII,6 par XIX,1-2 VII,6-9 par XIX,2-5 VII,9-VIII,1a par XIX,5-14 Add. VIII,1b-19 par XIX,15-32 VIII,20-21 par XIX, 32-XX,13 XX,13-34	1QS V,1-7a 1QS VIII-IX; Jub; 1QS V,1-7a 1QS V,1-7a 1QS VIII,16b-IX,2 1QS I-III; 1QS IX,10
4Q270 2ii Catalogue of Transgressors	1QS V,7a; 1QS I,23-26
4QD-Middlepart	
4Q266 7iii-CD XV,5a	1QS V,7b-13a
CD XV,5b - XVI,2a	1QS V,7b.c-24 (without 1QS V,13b-20, see below)
XVI,2b-XVI,19 XVI,7	V,8
CD IX,1-8	1QS V,24b-VI,1
CD IX,9-10	1QS VI,25-27
CD IX,21	1QS VI,25
CD X,4 o.10-XII,20 Add. CD X,14-20 Add.: CD XII,2b-3a	1QS VIII,1-IX,11 + Jub 2; 50 1QS V,13-20
CD XII,20-21.22.XIII,1 CD XII,23 CD XIII,2-3a Add.: CD XIII,3-7a	1QS IX,12.10-11 1QS VI,2 1QS VI,3-8a Add.: (?) 1QS VI,4b-5
CD XIII,7b-13	1QS VI,8b-15
CD XIII,14-19(20); 4Q266 9iii	Diff.: 1QS VI,16-18
CD XIII,20(21)-XIV,2 headings + quotation Add.(?): CD XIV,3-12a	 1QS VI,8b-15
CD XIV,12b-13	1QS VI, 19b-20a
CD XIV,14-17 (cf. CD VI,20-21)	Diff.: 1QS VI,20b-23
4Q266 10ii par 4Q270 7i Penal Code 4Q266 11,1-5a quotations	1QS VI, 24-VII,16
4Q266 11,5b-16a Expulsion Ceremony	1QS II 1QS II,4-18
4Q266 11,16b-20 Conclusion	

To summarize the main results of this chart: The Damascus Document tightly follows the textual organization of 1QS V-VII. The Fourth Admonition (CD II,14-XX) is in basic parts an elaboration of 1QS V,1-7a (Decalogue of Community Principles). The reference to 1QS V-VII skips the middle part of D, and continues directly in CD XV (1QS V,7b). From there it goes on, almost verse by verse, until the end of the Penal Code in 4QD 266 10ii par 4Q270 7i (1QS VII,16). This means that basic reference to 1QS V-VII covers almost the whole composition of D. It is lacking only in D's large middle part, apart from its edges, and in the beginning and end of D, which are related to sections of 1QS I-IV. Links to 1QS VIII-IX can be found as well in the Admonitions (Second and Fourth), as in the Laws (CD X-XIII). Of no (basic) influence seems to be 1QS X-XI.

2. A Closer Look at Corresponding Sections

The following notes try to explain the chart by concentrating on a few decisive features of the correspondences between S and D in each section.

The dualistic introduction of the Damascus Document (4Q266 1a-b,1-5a):

Traces of cosmological dualism are rare in D. But a whole section, right at the beginning of D, seems to deal with it like it is known also from the Doctrine of the Two Spirits (1QS III-IV). Completely preserved is only the expression **מועד הפקודה** in 1.2, which exclusively occurs in the Doctrine of the Two Spirits, in 1QS III,18s (cf. 1QS IV,20, and partly restored IV,26). But possibly the **בני אור** "Sons of Light" can be identified as the addressees of the composition in 1.1, although the word "sons" is partly restored and not absolutely certain. (8) Furthermore, the feminine suffix in **מעשיה** 1.3, as well as the context of this introductory passage, made Baumgarten restore **רוח** "spirit" in the lacuna at the end of 1.2. (9)

The First Admonition (4Q266 1,5b-2i,6a; 4Q267 1i; 4Q268 1)

The text is too fragmentarily preserved to draw certain conclusions about basic points of contact with S. (10) But the last eight lines

(8) See for this and the other restorations at the beginning of 4Q266 Baumgarten and Milik, 1996, 31. In S the "Sons of Light" occur in III,13.24.25a, and I,9; II,16.

(9) On further points of contact with the Doctrine of the Two Spirits see below.

(10) J. Baumgarten, DJD XVIII, restores 4Q266 1,6-7 according to 1QS XI,5-6; 4Q266 1,16-17 cf. 1QS VII,16-17.

(4Q268 1,1-8; 4Q266 2i) are reminiscent of 1QS I-IV, (11) and 4Q268 1,4 closely resembles 1QS I,15. Interestingly, Dtn 29,3.29 seems to be referred to at the end of the First Admonition in 4Q266 2i5 and 4Q268 1,7-8. These verses also join the Third and the Fourth Admonition with each other. (12) And Dtn 29 plays a major role in 1QS II-III. A short form of 1QS II-III is found at the very end of D.

The Second Admonition (CD I,1-II,1)

The text is full of reference to Scripture and links with Qumran texts. (13) Although parallels with S can be observed, it is difficult to name any deeper connection to a particular section of it. A characteristic connection to 1QS VIII,5 exists in CD I,7-8; both reflect a major understanding of the community, rooting it in Jes 60,21 and relating it to Aaron and Israel. The expression **הולכי תמים** CD I,20-21 appears similarly in several other texts, but most frequently in 1QS VIII and IX. (14)

The Third Admonition (CD II,2-13)

As has always been observed the Third Admonition is clearly linked to the Doctrine of the Two Spirit, namely to 1QS III,25c-IV,6 and IV,11b-14, which are both parts that have a non-cosmological dualism. (15) Thus, differently from the introduction at the very beginning of D, the Third Admonition does not speak about light/darkness or spirits, apart from the mentioning of **מלאכי חבל** (l. 6 par 1QS IV,12). Like the Doctrine of the Two Spirits, it knows about predetermination.

The Fourth Admonition (CD II,14-XX,34)

A striking observation is that the section 1QS V,1-7a, which exists in three versions with major variants, (16) is dealt with in different sections of the Fourth Admonition of D (CD II,14-XX,34). In fact,

(11) See e.g. the preordained **מועדים** “times” 4Q268 1,4 and **קצים** “periods” 4Q268 1,5, which apart from 1QS X-XI, occur in S only in 1QS I-IV, and there several times, and the **אחרונות** 4Q268 1,1 in 1QS IV,17 (sg.).

(12) See their beginnings (CD II,2 and II,14).

(13) E.g. 1QS VIII,5, XI,8 in CD I,7; 1QS I,1 in CD I,10; and 1QS II,16 in CD I,17.

(14) 1QS VIII, 8,18.20.21. IX,6.8.9.19.21. The exact formulation occurs only in 4Q525 5,11.

(15) See e.g. 1QS IV,14 in CD II,6-7, and **יסד** in the context of creation CD II,7 and 1QS III,25; cf. also 1QS III,15 in CD II,10, **בחר** in the context of predetermined election CD II,7 in 1QS IV,22.

(16) 1QS, 4QS^{b,d}.

this long passage in D seems to have at least partly been an elaboration of 1QS V,1-7a (Decalogue of Community Principles). Reference to it occurs right from the start, in II,14-17a (1QS V,4-5). After the scriptural based historical review (CD II,17b-III,12a), 1QS V,1-7a is immediately taken up again in III,12b-IV,12b, the institution of God's covenant with the **מהזקים** (CD III, 12; 1QS V,1.3). This passage has been recognized from early on as a parallel section to 1QS V,1-7a. For example, the "Sons of Zadoq" appear almost exclusively here in S and D (only 1QS V,2.9; CD III,21-IV,1.3; V,5), as does the verb **לזה** (1QS V,6; CD IV,3). An important feature of the D-Admonitions in general can be observed here: D's actualizing interpretation of S is often grounded on explicit quotations from Scripture. Here the quotation is of Ez 44,15 (CD III,21-IV,2), which as in other cases is missing in S. We find only very few explicit quotations in S at all, and they occur at a late stage of its textual development, namely in 1QS. D, in its way to deal with Scripture by not only alluding to it, but by explicitly quoting it, is on the way to the purely exegetical genres, the midrashim and the pesharim. (17) Another aspect goes almost hand in hand with the tendency toward the use of explicit quotations, and that is a tendency toward eschatology, which appears in S only in late textual stages (missing in 1QS V-VII), but is often found in D (here in CD IV,4 e.g. **אחרית הימים**, and the end of the passage), and always later on in the exegetical writings. (18) Thus, in both aspects D is a continuation or *Fortschreibung* of tendencies that occur late in the literary history of S, this continuation would not work the other way around. (19) A crucial point in using 1QS V,1-7a is reached at the end of the passage in CD IV,12, which interprets 1QS V,7a by alluding to Mi 7,11, ending and playing with **החוק**. (20) Mi 7,11 "The wall is build" (CD, IV,12) is first taken up in CD IV,19 as a designation for the opponent group, which, in the perspective of D, does not follow **החוק** correctly. This is demonstrated by D in the following "Nets of Belial"-section (CD IV,12-V,15). Two of the three nets, with which the "Builders of the Wall" are caught, are inspired from 1QS V,1-7a: **הק**, namely 1QS V,2 etc. "property", which CD IV,17, turns negatively to "wealth" (21), and "(defilement) of the sanctuary" (1QS V,6 **קדש**) CD IV, 18 turning it to **מקדש**, interpreting it with Lev 20,3; Ez 23,38. Their combined occurrence is unique, and

(17) For this development within the corpus of Qumran literature see Annette Steudel, "Dating Exegetical Texts from Qumran," in Devorah Dimant, and Reinhard G. Kratz, *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran*, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 35. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2009, 39-53.

(18) Steudel, 2009.

(19) Cf. Kratz, 2011.

(20) See also below on the Catalogue of Transgressors.

(21) **ההק** and not **ההק**.

the preceding interpretation of 1QS V,1-7a in CD makes this connection to S probable. Thus, although the “Nets of Belial” passage does not explicitly quote 1QS V,1-7a, it seems to be initiated by it. It actualizes two of its keywords in relating them to the interpretation of the law by the group’s opponents in the following lines of the section. If the word is not taken from a completely different source, the other net, זנות “fornication” (CD IV, 17), might have been taken from 1QS I-IV, either from 1QS I,6 or IV,10, the only places in S where it occurs, but it might have come from the “Levi”-source quoted in CD IV,15. The section CD VI, 2-11 might have been another section elaborating 1QS V,1-7a. It plays on חוק (1QS V,7a), has a group called the נדיבי העם (root נדב as in מתנדבים 1QS V,1), the שבי ישראל (cf. 1QS V,1), Aaron and Israel (1QS V,6). Nowhere else is such a combination found, only here in S and D. And again quotations from Scripture are used in D’s elaboration. The interpretation of 1QS V,1-7a is also found in CD VIII,1b-19 par XIX,15-32, a passage, that now deals with Belial as instrument of judgment for those who entered the covenant, but do not hold firm to the laws. The situation is pursued and the significant elements of the preceding passage re-occur: the three nets, which are זנות, ההן, and approaching ones closest relatives (CD VIII,6-7 par XIX,18-19), which corresponds to the explication of the third net “(defilement of the) sanctuary” in CD IV,9, are again the failures of the “Builders of the Wall”. Additionally, the reproach of נטר “bearing malice” from the Penal Code (1QS VII,8 par 4Q266 10ii,1), which is absent from the first passages in the Fourth Admonition referring to 1QS V,1-7a occurs (CD VIII,5-6 par XIX,18). This occurrence makes a connection in CD VII,2 to CD VI,11-VII,6, a passage which, like later on CD XII, shows parallels to 1QS VIII-IX, and Jub. In pondering on the sanctuary, it could also be understood as an elaboration of 1QS V,6. (22) Both 1QS V and VIII-IX are similar to each other, therefore the link of an elaboration of 1QS VIII-IX is quite easily fit into the D-passages related to 1QS V,1-7a. CD XX bears numerous links to S, and while their relationship still has to be investigated more closely, a larger passage, ll. 2-8, relates to 1QS VIII,16b-IX,2.

The middle part of D – from the List of Transgressors (4Q270 2ii) to 4Q266 7iii par 4Q267 8:

While the majority of D’s middle part shows no corresponding sections to S, (23) it is important to notice, that the edges of the middle

(22) See above on CD IV,18. On the basis of 1QS V, VIII, and IX, the sanctuary here in CD could perhaps be understood metaphorically as referring to the community.

(23) But rather e.g. to the Temple Scroll and MMT.

part fit well with the edges of the preceding and the following sections in D. Namely, we find at the beginning of the middle part the Catalogue of Transgressors (4Q270 2i-ii) a taking up of 1QS V,7a and at the end of the middle part 4Q266 7iii a taking up of 1QS V,7b. Both connect the middle part with the outer parts of D.

The Catalogue of Transgressors is linked in a double way with the first part of D:

1. It explicates the passage 1QS V,7a “to condemn all those who transgress a/the regulation (עֹבְרֵי חֹק)” by listing the different kinds of transgressors. The concluding section of the Catalogue of Transgressors explicitly mentions in l. 17, after a small *vacat* a similar expression to the catchword עֹבְרֵי חֹק, namely עֹבְרֵי “those who transgress” followed by אֵת, and then the fragment breaks off. The following fragmentary l.18 of the Catalogue of Transgressors seems to have set 1QS V,7a in an eschatological context that relates it to God’s wrath kindled in the final evil period of time, the presence of the D-author. In any case, the Catalogue of Transgressors originally seems to have been linked with one of the D-sections which deal with 1QS V,1-7a in the first part of S, before the expansions were added. It could have been linked either with the interpretation of S in CD II,14-16a, or, it could have followed the passage CD III,12-IV,12b, ending with הַחֹק. The latter section in D shows a clear tendency towards eschatology and to strengthen the priestly aspect: both features would fit well with the Catalogue of Transgressors.

2. The Catalogue of Transgressors also fits well with 1QS I,23.25 (פֶּשַׁע). And this connects it, probably secondarily, to the interpretation of 1QS I,24-26 in CD XX,28-29, a passage which is certainly late in D and which almost immediately precedes the Catalogue of Transgressors.

The material placement of the Catalogue of Transgressors at the beginning of D’s middle part is thus verified in a double way. (24)

4Q266 7iii:

This small fragment preceds CD XV. In l. 4 Baumgarten detected a parallel to 11QT^a LIII,11, (25), in close context to ll. 14s which deal

(24) Hartmut Stegemann achieved this placement in his final reconstruction of the D-material, approving the decision of Milik and Baumgarten. Before that, he had hesitated much concerning this fragment (4Q270 2). The alternative would have been to place it materially at the end of D’s middle-part. The S-parallels now indicate that the Catalogue of Transgressors is correctly placed.

(25) Baumgarten and Milik, 1996, 63.

with שבועה. This topic connects it to the following passage at the beginning of CD XV, which in ll.1-5a deals with שבועה as well. The end of the middle part of D, reaching into the beginning of CD XV, can be explained as an expansion of the section on oath/vow starting in CD XV,5b, which corresponds to 1QS V,7-8 (שבועת אסר).

From CD XV to the Penal Code (4Q266 10ii par 4Q270 7i)

CD XV,5b relates to 1QS 5,7-8 the oath in the context of the admission to the community. It continues the passages in the Fourth Admonition, that are related to 1QS V,1-7a, namely the most basic stage of interpretation in CD III,12b-IV,12b. (26) CD XV,5b-XVI,2a corresponds to 1QS V,7b-24, see e.g. CD XV,8 relating to 1QS V,24, and CD XV,11 to 1QS V,21. CD is closer here to 4QS^{b,d} (without priest) than to 1QS. The S-section, 1QS V,13b-20, which is late in S, follows below in CD X. CD continues with reference to Jubilees for the matter of “times” from CD XVI,2b onwards. Jubilees seems to have a status similar or equal to Scripture for D. Then CD, additionally to S goes on by quoting Scripture explicitly. CD XVI,7 is related to 1QS V,8, pursuing the “binding oath”. The elaboration reaches until the end of CD XVI. CD IX is the original continuation of CD XVI, as 4QD shows. Thus the D-text in CD IX,1-8 is taking up its thread of S in referring to 1QS V,24b-VI,1, a passage about speaking with a fellow and rebuke. Again D is much longer than S, arguing with different passages from Scripture. The immediate continuation of the S-text, 1QS VI,2, is found in CD XII,23. Inbetween, CD included a large amount of material, mainly the section on the Sabbath, which parallels Jub 2 and 50, but also 1QS VIII-IX,11. (27) The passage 1QS V,13-20 that was missing in its original context in D is inserted here. Perhaps a variant text, found in 4QS^g, is the reason for its relation with the Sabbath. (28) 4QS^{b,d} have different versions in this passage, which might also be an indication for the differing placement. The text from the corresponding headings onwards is parallel in S and D, 1QS VI,3-8a and CD XIII,2-3a. The Damascus Document which seem to stress the role of priests in the following texts, adds “knowledgable in the Book of Meditation”, i.e. probably the Torah, as a quality of the priest among the ten members. According to D, the priest should take the function which

(26) On the lines before, see the preceding section.

(27) See the general themes in 1QS VIII-IX,11 and esp. 1QS IX,3-8 in CD XI,18b-XII,7a. The epigraphically correct reading in CD XI,23 at the end of the line (/beginning of XII,1) is (קודש הוא) כי בית instead of (קודש הוא) השבת.

(28) 4QS^g reads יחד לשבת יחד instead of 1QS V,22 ישוב ביחד.

in 1QS VI,6-7 every member of the community has. A tendency seems to exist which leads from every member is studying Scripture (1QS) to the priest is studying it (CD XIII,2), to studying Scripture as a function (CD VI,7), and finally to a messianic figure as expert in studying Scripture (CD VII,18; cf. later also 4QMidrEschat 4Q174 III,11). CD XIII,3-7a adds a further passage on the qualification of priests, which is missing in S. Does D really leave out 1QS VI,4-5, which would be very exceptional, or is it interpreted in D as relating to the Sabbath, i.e. it would have been dealt with already? Jub 2,21 support an argument for the latter option. Jubilees is D's expert when it comes to the Sabbath, and Jub 2,21 speaks about eating, drinking and blessing on the Sabbath. (29) Two D-passages which follow deal with 1QS VI,8b-15, which are CD XIII,7b-13 and CD XIV,3-12a. The latter, which breaks the sequence in S, might be an addition. We deal here with a phenomenon known already from the Fourth Admonition: A passage in S can have more than one corresponding sections in D. Interestingly also from a sociological point of view are the passages CD XIII,14ss and CD XIV,14-17, which seem to speak about completely different things than their S-equivalent: While S (1QS VI,16-18 and 20-23) is talking about the admission process, D is speaking about the education of children and welfare. On the Penal Code see R. Kratz, who has compared S and D, and has shown that the version of S is the original one. (30)

Expulsion Ceremony (4Q266 11,5-16a) and the Conclusion of D (4Q266 11,16b-20)

The Expulsion Ceremony in D correlates with the curse of the transgressor in 1QS II,4-18 in the broader context of 1QS II-III. In D it is connected to the preceding Penal Code (4Q266 11,7-8.14-16). Although the *בני אמתו* (l. 7) links it to dualistic passages, D does not speak about Belial or the Sons of Light, as does S, which is much closer to the Doctrine of the Two Spirits than D. Both passages are mainly based on Dtn 29. This connects the passage in D to different sections. In S, Dtn 29 does not play the overarching role like in D.

The concluding section in D has no equivalent in S. Its meaning is debated, and it seems difficult to reach any certain insight based on our analysis. The eschatological perspective of D is visible here again.

(29) Perhaps 4QS^g relates to it, see above note 28.

(30) See Kratz, 2011.

3. The Composition of D and its Relationship to S

The core of D seems to have been shaped according to 1QS V-VII. (31) The Damascus Document rewrites the Decalogue of Community Principles (1QS V,1-7a) in the first part of the long Fourth Admonition (CD II,14-IV,12b), enriching and interpreting it by Scripture. It seems that originally the List of Transgressors had followed, which opens the large Law-section in D's middle. The urge to include more laws might have been the main reason for D to rewrite S. 1QS V,7b is taken up in CD XV. From there on D follows S, usually in the correct order, up to the end of the Penal Code. The beginning lines of CD XV and the preceding 4QD-fragment show that the oath section of S (1QS V,7b-8) was elaborated, more cases of oath/vow/swearing have been included in D. In general, the following sections in D tend to add more material from Scripture. The starting point for the rewriting might have been the Penal Code which is the section with the closest parallels in S and D. The observation of Reinhard Kratz that S is the original version of the Penal Code, used and adapted by D, shows exemplarily the direction of literary dependency. In almost all cases where D corresponds to 1QS V-VII, S is the basis which is rewritten by D through scripturalization and eschatologization. This fits well with the overall tendency in the history of the Qumran literature toward explicit reception of Scripture and eschatology, with the *pesha-rim* in the first century BCE, which mention the Kittim = the Romans. Up to this point the development is rather certain.

The following textual stages need further argumentation, but might roughly be sketched like this: A major textual development in S, which is clear also from the D evidence, was the enlargement of 1QS V-VII by 1QS VIII-IX. (32) But what caused this enlargement in S? It seems that S, by adding 1QS VIII-IX, reacted to D, which at that stage comprised the rewritten 1QS V-VII-sections, which are from the Fourth Admonition up to the Penal Code, or perhaps already up to the end of D (see below). For this assumption regarding 1QS VIII-IX one might remember, for example, that the term ארץ "Land" occurs in S only in cols. VIII-IX, which is essential for D in general, but especially for a number of laws in D's middle-part. (33) Then it was D's turn to react to the enlarged S-composition, which at least contained 1QS V-IX. This is reflected mainly in two larger secondary sections in D, one in

(31) Main results of this study correspond to the literary history of S as it was reconstructed by Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 21. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997.

(32) Cf. Metso, 1997, and Kratz, 2011, 219s.

(33) See 1QS VIII,3.6.10, and IX,4

the Fourth Admonition and one in the Laws (VI,11-VII,6 par XIX,1-2; CD X,4-XII,20). It is striking that these are sections where Jubilees also plays a major and explicit role in D. (34) The “land” might have been the connecting idea. A most significant term, the “eternal planting”, is introduced in 1QS VIII,5 (cf. Jub 16,26). CD I,7-8, in the context of a historical review, seems to relate to both, to Jubilees and to 1QS VIII-IX: “(God) caused to grow from Israel and Aaron a root of planting to take into possession (לִירוֹשׁ) the land”. (35) Another historical review, CD II,15-III,14, allows even deeper inside into the relationship of Jubilees and D: (36) Apart from Noah and the Patriarchs, the past had been marked by error, until the Book of Jubilees was revealed, respectively in D the נִסְתָּרוֹת “the hidden things” (Dtn 29, 28; CD III,14) were revealed. (37) As a whole, the relation of Jubilees and D can be regarded as that of “Programmschrift und Ausführung”. (38) The Damascus Document seems to have regarded the entry into the land as fulfilled by the entry into the community, which is designated as the עֵדָה. (39) In D’s rewriting of S, Jubilees played a major role. It might well have been known by 1QS VIII-IX, and also by 1QS I-IV, (40) but it was comprehensively adapted only by D. Correspondences of D and 1QS I-IV concern

(34) CD VI,18-VII,2 sums up the practical concern of the Book of Jubilees, see on this and further parallels of Jub and the Damascus Document Klaus Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*. Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit II/3, Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1981, 295. On the Sabbath-Laws, CD X,14-XI,18, XII, 3-6, cf. Jub 2,17-33 and 50,7-13; on the title of Jubilees see CD XVI, 3-4 (differently Deborah Dimant, “Two ‘Scientific’ Fictions: The So-Called Book of Noah and the Alleged Quotation of Jubilees in CD 16:3-4,” in Peter W. Flint, James C. VanderKam, and Emanuel Tov, *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint: Essays Presented to Eugene Ulrich on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. VTSup 101. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2006, 230-249). Only the two major sections of Jub in D are noted in the chart, but see also chapters 2 and 3.

(35) In Jubilees Israel is still in the situation before entering the land (Jub 1,7.15, and 50,2s), cf. Berger, 1981, 295.

(36) None of the historical reviews in D seems to belong to an early textual stratum. On the role of Belial in these contexts (CD IV,13.15; V,18, VIII,2; XIX,14) cf. the role of Mastema throughout Jubilees.

(37) Cf. Jub 6,18s cf. Berger, 1985, 295.

(38) Berger, 1985, 295. The adaption is visible also in CD XII,3-4, where D explicitly abolishes the death penalty of Jub 50 for those who profane the Sabbath.

(39) This community-designation as well as organizational pattern like מִחֻנָּה come from the Book of Numbers (e.g. Num 1,2.16.18, and Num 5,2.3), see for עֵדָה e.g. CD XIII,13; XV,17; in 1QS only in the late section 1QS V,13-20 (I.20); for מִחֻנָּה see e.g. CD XIII,4.5; in S this term as well as the organizational concept of Numbers/D does not exist, but see e.g. 1QSa and 1QM.

(40) See below. And also the ideas concerning time and calendar, see e.g. 1QS I,14-15, cf. CD II,9; III,14.

mainly the introduction to D, the Third Admonition, and the expulsion ceremony at the end, that is, those sections which frame D's rewriting of 1QS V-VII. The quite close connection in D of the Penal Code and the short expulsion ceremony might speak for the fact that this text, which is rooted in Dtn 29, has had its origins in D. The Community Rule seems to have elaborated the expulsion ceremony and placed it before 1QS V-VII, namely in 1QS II-III, and not like D after the Penal Code. It fit excellently before 1QS V, which deals with the admission to the community. The Community Rule also introduced the Doctrine of the Two Spirits 1QS III-IV (influenced also by Jubilees) (41) between 1QS II-III and V-IX. It is connected and initiated via רוח "spirit" with both parts (42) and supports the "theoretical" (cosmological or ontological) background for these sections. As in S, the 1QS III-IV-section was placed before the 1QS V-VII-section in D, namely at the beginning of the composition (introduction and Third Admonition). Dtn 29 played a major role for D in arranging the S-material, that parallels 1QS II-IV. It creates a frame for the material, that parallels 1QS V-VII in D, i.e. at the beginning of the Third and Fourth Admonition (both are linked by Dtn 29 at their beginnings), in CD XX, which means before the large insertion in D's middle, and at the end of D, in the expulsion ceremony, where it might have come from. Late and without any connection to S are the "Teacher of Righteousness"-Passages in CD I (Second Admonition) and XX. Especially the role of sections corresponding to 1QS I,1-16, which seems to frame D-passages, and that of CD XX, have to be pursued further. Both have traditionally be considered late passages in S and D. Also, all the versions and variants of the S- and D-manuscripts have to be taken into consideration thoroughly in the future. This will certainly add to modification and refinement of the picture, and will help to find a relative date for later additions. (43) From a methodological point of view, the above model can be described as *Ergänzungs-Hypothese*. (44) The rise of S and D, which are so closely related to each other, might best be explained as having taken place in one and the same group (spread over different locations of course) that developed over the time.

(41) See e.g. the spirits and their heavenly leaders, e.g. in Jub 10.

(42) Several times in 1QS II,14-III,8, and in 1QS Vss, e.g. in V,21-26.

(43) It might be worthwhile to analyse the relation of e.g. 1QSa and 4Q265 with S/D in the same way.

(44) See Reinhard Kratz, "Rewriting Torah in the Hebrew Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls", in Bernd U. Schipper, D. Andrew Teeter (Eds.), *Wisdom and Torah. The Reception of 'Torah' in the Wisdom Literature of the Second Temple Period*. JSJ. Supplement Series, Leiden: E. J. Brill (forthcoming 2013).

The puzzling fact that both D- and S-manuscripts were copied over a long period of time side by side, with an S-text in different versions, and with D quite stable, is awaiting an explanation.

While rewriting Scripture is a well known phenomenon, the Damascus Document is probably the first known *Fortschreibung* of a genuine Qumran composition. (45)

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(45) Rewritings of Jubilees exist among the Qumran corpus, see at least 4Q225-226. There are probably more rewritings to identify.

THE POETRY OF *THE WILES OF THE WICKED WOMAN* (4Q184)

Summary

This article surveys previous work on the poetry of 4Q184 1 (*Wiles of the Wicked Woman*), including the matter of the regularity or irregularity of stanzas. The sections “Vocabulary and syntax” and “Parallelism and style” present brief, and in part new, observations on some of the poet’s techniques, involving Janus parallelism, the use of uncommon forms of words, and uncommon syntactical constructions.

IN his edition of 4Q525 (4QBéatitudes), (1) Émile Puech twice produces parts of the text of this fragmentary manuscript in poetic or stichometric format. Thus, he presents the text of the preserved beatitudes proper (4Q525 2 ii 1–13) in stichometric arrangement, divided into two stanzas (Puech: *strophes*) of each thirty-one words. (2) In addition, he tentatively analyzes the stichographic structure of the damaged 4Q525 5 5-13 as consisting of couplets (Puech: *stiques*) consisting of two cola (Puech: *hémistiques*). (3) Few cola are preserved in their entirety, and some are entirely missing. Yet, taken together, the length of the lacuna, the presence of parallelism, and the introduction of the second cola by the conjunction *waw*, enable one to recognize the poetic structure and to reconstruct the width of the column. That section, however, was too heavily damaged to recognize it strophes. In 2008, I added a similar stichometric arrangement of a

(1) Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4 XVIII. Textes hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 25; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 115–78.

(2) Ibid., 126–28. The differences in terminology are notorious. I have adopted the terminology of Wilfred G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques* (JSOTSup 26; Sheffield: JSOT, 1984).

(3) Ibid., 134.

third section of 4Q525, namely of 4Q525 15 together with the overlapping text of 5Q16 1-2 + 5. (4) The combined text is even more fragmented than that of 4Q525 5 5-13. Nonetheless, I tentatively divided the text into seven stanzas, on the basis of Jean Carmignac's analysis of 4Q184, who divided the 4Q184 poem into stanzas (Carmignac: *strophes*) of three couplets. (5) I speculated that the quote from *Prov* 2:19 ("all who enter it will not return, and will not attain the paths of life") in 4Q525 15 might be an exception and form a stanza on its own. Tentatively, I compared the function of this single-couplet stanza with that of the monocolon couplet in 4Q184 1 8, "she namely is the beginning of all ways of injustice," which Rick Moore had singled out as the centre of the poem of 4Q184 1. (6) However, Carmignac's and Moore's structural analyses are not entirely compatible, and until recently there has been little subsequent discussion on the poetic character of the poem. (7) This paper will not deal exhaustively with the poetry of 4Q184 1, but address only a few aspects, including that of the assessment of the poetical character of the poem. (8)

1. Survey of previous scholarship with regard to the poetry of 4Q184

The first editor, John Allegro, only presented a photograph, a transcription, a translation, and very few comments and notes. With regard to the poetry he merely noted: "The overall metre of the poem is 3: 3 and the translation above has been arranged on that basis." (9)

(4) Eibert Tigchelaar, "Lady Folly and her House in Three Qumran Manuscripts: On the Relation between 4Q525 15, 5Q16, and 4Q184," *RevQ* 23/91 (2008): 373–81, at 376.

(5) Jean Carmignac, "Poème allégorique sur la secte rivale," *RevQ* 5/19 (1965): 361–74.

(6) Rick D. Moore, "Personification of the Seduction of Evil: 'The Wiles of the Wicked Woman'," *RevQ* 10/40 (1981): 505–19.

(7) See, however, two recent dissertations which address some aspects of the poetry of 4Q184: Domenico Poli, *La via della sapienza oscura: studio linguistico di 4Q184* (Studi Semitici N.S. 22; Rome: Università degli studi «La Sapienza», 2008), and Shem Thomas Miller, "Innovation and Convention: An Analysis of Parallelism in Stichographic, Hymnic and Sapiential Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls" (Ph.D. diss., The Florida State University, 2012).

(8) This article is based on a paper "Assessing the Poetical Character of *The Wiles of the Wicked Woman* (4Q184)" which I presented at the conference *Ancient Jewish Texts and the 'Literary'* (Antwerpen, Institute of Jewish Studies, March 14-15, 2012).

(9) John M. Allegro, "'The Wiles of the Wicked Woman': A Sapiential Work from Qumran's Fourth Cave," *PEQ* 96 (1964): 53–55, at 55. See also idem, *Qumran Cave 4 I* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 5; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 84.

One year later, in 1965, Jean Carmignac discussed the text in more detail, and offered a poetical analysis and assessment. (10) He observes that the author was bound to very strict poetical rules. The cola (which Carmignac calls *stiques*) virtually all consist of three or four words, and they are all arranged two by two, the first never beginning with a conjunctive *waw*, and the second almost always. Those bicola or couplets (Carmignac: *distiques*) are grouped in series of three with a common theme. That is, Carmignac proposed that the entire poem consists of ten stanzas (he calls them *strophes*) of each six cola. Of course, due to the fragmentary nature of the text, not all cola are preserved in their entirety. Yet, Carmignac's analysis of the system of cola and stanzas enables him to reconstruct the damaged ones. In a few cases the preserved text does not agree with his analysis. In those cases he suggests that the manuscript departed from the original poem, and once he emends the text. (11) He discerns a strict structure of the poem, though a few times changed by the scribe of 4Q184 who copied the text. Yet, he is quite dismissive of the poetical style of the poet. (12) Carmignac characterizes its style as monotonous: the same words and the same forms, are used again and again. The poet only uses the prepositions *ב*, *ל*, and *מן*, but never *כ*, *אל*, *על*, *עד*, *עם*, or *את*. He uses only two negations, *אין* and *בל*. Apart from the "banal *waw*," he only once uses another conjunction, *כִּי־א* at the middle of the poem to mark a new stanza. He does not even use *אשר*! His use of verbal forms is restricted to the minimum, with only four perfect forms. The author only once uses chiasmus and does not even try to brighten up his style by delving into the treasures of the Old Testament; instead, one can observe a clear influence of Qumranic phraseology. Carmignac concludes that this poem does not show a talent comparable to that of the author of the *Hodayot*. Rather, the poem seems to be an artificial work, accomplished with great effort by a writer who applies the techniques of his time, but who lacks the spirit of a real poet.

Carmignac's assessment of the poetical skills may be compared to his characterizations of other Qumran poems. He had praised the author of the *Hodayot* for being guided by his inspiration, and feeling free to change the length of cola depending on what he wanted to say,

(10) Jean Carmignac, "Poème allégorique sur la secte rivale," *RevQ* 5/19 (1965): 361–74.

(11) See his comments "peut-être altéré," "suspects d'altération," "sauf dans les deux cas où le texte paraît mutilé." *Ibid.*, 362.

(12) What follows in the remainder of this paragraph is a translated paraphrase of Carmignac's words from *ibid.*, 362–63.

just as happens in modern poetry. (13) In Carmignac's discussion of the poetry of the *Hodayot*, two words jump out: "freedom" and "inspiration." In the first of a series of articles on *Ps* 151a, we find yet another characterization: whereas the *Hodayot* are characterized by verbosity, *Ps* 151a has a "noble sobriety." (14) Carmignac claims that the poet of *Ps* 151a has "a superior literary talent, more classic and more harmonious" than the author of the *Hodayot*. Now, almost fifty years later, his assessments sound very impressionistic, and his analysis of *4Q184* rather rigid and primitive. Interestingly, though, no one has explicitly discussed Carmignac's analysis of its poetry, but many scholars accepted reconstructions and emendations that are based on his analysis.

In his famous review article of the *Allegro* volume, John Strugnell makes a few isolated remarks on the poetry of *4Q184*. The most important is that—against *Allegro* and Carmignac—he argues for the presence of two tricola. (15) As we shall see below, there are several places in the poem where scholars and translators are divided on the structure.

Moore posits that the entire poem consists of bicola (he uses: *stichs*), except for one conspicuous monocolon (Moore: *hemistich*) at the centre of the poem. (16) His analysis of subsections of the poem is largely based on themes and content. Sometimes he points at what he calls linguistic expressions of the theme, mainly symmetry and inclusio or envelope structure. For example, he refers to the use of *חל"ק* at the beginning and end of the poem (*תחליקת* and *חלקית*), and *נח"ל* in the bicola that surround the monocolon (*נחלתה* and *נוחליה*). Similarly, he sees a subsection which is marked off by *נוחליה כול*, "all who possess her," in its first and last colon, and which begins with *הוה*, "ruin," and ends with *שחת*, "the Pit."

Joseph Baumgarten states that the poem consists of three thematic parts, the second and third of which both begin with *והיא*. (17) He does not explain his analysis, but was probably influenced by early

(13) Jean Carmignac, "Études sur les procédés poétiques des *Hymnes*," *RevQ* 2/8 (1960): 515–32 at 517.

(14) Jean Carmignac, "La forme poétique du Psaume 151 de la grotte 11," *RevQ* 4/15 (1963): 371–78.

(15) John Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,'" *RevQ* 7/26 (1970): 163–276 at 263–68.

(16) Moore, "Personification of the Seduction of Evil."

(17) Joseph M. Baumgarten, "On the Nature of the Seductress in *4Q184*," *RevQ* 15/57–58 (1991): 133–43. Note that Daniel J. Harrington, S.J., *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge, 1996), 31–35 at 31–32 adopts Baumgarten's three-fold structure.

scholarship of the *Hodayot* which recognized that independent personal pronouns are often employed for the demarcation of strophes or stanzas. (18)

Antoon Schoors made one important comment on 4Q184, namely that it “often has direct government where the use of a preposition is possible.” (19) Domenico Poli studied both content, poetic structure, and the distribution of keywords. He concludes that the poem has structure of nine stanzas (Poli: *strofa*) arranged symmetrically. The central, fifth stanza, contains the colon which Moore saw as the hinge of the poem. (20) I drew some comparisons between the poetry of 4Q184 1 and that of 4Q525. (21) Miller gives the hitherto fullest analysis of the poetry of 4Q184, describing different kinds of parallelism, the organization of cola, bicola, strophes and stanzas, as well as other kinds of poetical devices, such as the use of lists, types of ellipsis, keywords and their repetition. (22)

2. Problems related to the structural analysis of the poem

2.1. *Beginning and end of the poem*

Allegro’s first publication suggested that 4Q184 consisted of a single-sheet text, just like 4Q175 (4QTestimonia). In spite of all the gaps, we would have the entire poem, from beginning to end, apart from the very first word. The inclusion of other fragments in the official edition indicated that the poem was part of a larger composition, which challenges the premise that we have the entire poem. (23) Nonetheless, scholarship still proceeds from the assumption that the poem began at the top of the fragment and ended at the bottom. Indeed, structural analysis of the poem, including detection of word symmetry

(18) See, e.g., Carmignac, “Études sur les procédés poétiques des *Hymnes*,” 524.

(19) Antoon Schoors, “The Language of the Qumran Sapiential Works,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 61–95 at 75.

(20) Schema in Poli, *La via della sapienza oscura*, 282.

(21) Tigchelaar, “Lady Folly and her House.” See the introduction to this paper.

(22) Miller, “Innovation and Convention,” 270–329.

(23) For a discussion of the relationship to the other fragments see Eibert Tigchelaar, “Constructing, Deconstructing and Reconstructing Fragmentary Manuscripts: Illustrated by a Study of 4Q184 (4QWiles of the Wicked Woman),” in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (ed. Maxine L. Grossman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans: 2010), 26–47; and Michael J. Lesley, “Exegetical Wiles: 4Q184 as Scriptural Interpretation,” in *The Scrolls and Biblical Traditions: Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the IOQS in Helsinki* (ed. George J. Brooke et al.; STDJ 103; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 107–42, esp. 134–42.

between beginning and end, strongly suggests we may have the entire poem. Several suggestions have been given for the first word of the fragment of which only the final *he* remains, such as *הזונה* (the harlot), *האשה* (the woman), *נכריה* (the strange woman), or *מפיה* (from her mouth).

2.2. *Centre of the poem*

Up to the twenty-fourth colon (if one assumes six cola at the beginning of the poem), that is *ותשכון באהלי דומה*, “and she resides in the tents of silence,” there are few disputes with respect to the poetic structure. Up to that point there are bicola, and one may easily distinguish stanzas (or strophes) on the basis of theme and syntactical structure of the cola. Problems arise with the words *בתוך מוקדי עולם*, “in the midst of eternal flames,” and the following *ואין נחלתה בתוך בכול*, “and her inheritance is not in the midst, among all the bright luminaries.”

Syntactically, “in the midst of eternal flames” can be taken both in apposition to “in the tents of silence,” and as predicate of *נחלתה*, “her inheritance” which comes later. Some translators therefore take “in the tents of silence” as the third colon of a tricolon. The two following long cola are then either two monocola (e.g., Cook) or one bicolon (Maier). (24) Alternatively, the three-word colon “in the midst of eternal flames” is taken with the following six-word one (or if one deletes either *בתוך* or *בכול*, the second still having five words; e.g., Moore).

Carmignac assumed a rigid schema, and therefore did not consider the possibility of either a tricolon, or an irregular five- or six-word colon. Instead, he emends the text by transposing the word *נחלתה* and deleting the second *בתוך*. Hence, in stead of the reading of the manuscript *בתוך מוקדי עולם ואין נחלתה בתוך בכול מאירי נוגה*, we get the following bicolon:

נחלתה בתוך מוקדי עולם
(26) ואין בכול מאירי (25) נוגה

(24) Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, Jr., and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 241; Johann Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer Band II* (UTB 1863; München: Reinhardt, 1995), 131.

(25) Reading *מאירי* rather than *מאורי*.

(26) Carmignac, “Poème allégorique,” 367 sub 25 offers a convoluted explanation involving both parabolepsis and dittography. From the perspective of scribal practices it is easier to assume a *Vorlage* with a supralinear addition (either *ואין* written above *נחלתה*, or the other way round), which then was understood incorrectly by a subsequent

This emendation was adopted by the two most popular English translations, those of Geza Vermes and Florentino García Martínez. For example, Vermes translates

Amid everlasting fire is her inheritance,
not among those who shine brightly. (27)

Vermes and Moore take the next line **והיא ראשית כול דרכי עול**, “She namely is the beginning of all the ways of iniquity,” as a monocolon, Maier as the second part of a bicolon and Strugnell as the first colon of a tricolon. Carmignac posits schema of six cola per stanza, of which only the second, fourth, and sixth begin with the conjunction. This schema does not always fit the text, and can only be saved by assuming multiple scribal errors. Moore’s assumption of all bicola and one single monocolon is—given all the other suggestions—not self-evident.

2.3. *The Prov 2:19a quotation*

Overall, there has been little dispute about the following four cola

שעריה שערי מות	בפתח ביתה תצעד שאן[ל]
כ[ו]ל[ל] באיה לוא[] ישובן	וכול נוחליה ירדו שחת

Scholars have disagreed about the subject of **תצעד**, “it treads” (is the subject the woman, death, or Sheol?). This is related to the question whether to read **שאול** or **שאולה**, and whether that word belongs to the end of one colon or the beginning of the new one. This uncertainty arises because the parallelism which is so clear in the other bicola is not evident here. Also, this is one of the very few cases in 4Q184 1 where the second colon of a bicolon does not start with *waw*. In fact the second and third of the quoted cola are almost identical to two cola from different bicola of a composite text of 4Q525 15 // 5Q16. (28)

copyist. In that case one should emend **ואין עולם נחלתה / ואין** to **בכול** to emend **כול** to **בכול**.

(27) Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1997), 396 (as well as earlier editions). Cf. also Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 397: “In the midst of eternal fire is her inheritance / and those who shine do not enter.” The latter is a mistranslation of the Spanish *Textos de Qumrán* (Madrid: Trotta, 1992), 407: “En medio del fuego eterno está su heredad / y no entre los que iluminan.” In Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1996–1997), 377 this was changed to: “in the midst of eternal fire. She has no inheritance among all those who shine brightly.”

(28) Tigchelaar, “Lady Folly and Her House.”

The latter text describes the house of Lady Folly and says **במבואו תצעד שאול**, “at its entrance Sheol treads,” and continues a few lines later with **כול באיו לוא ישובן**, “all who enter it shall not return.” The latter, of course, derives from *Prov* 2:19. Interestingly, with regard to style and mythology, the **שאול** phrase fits less well in the *4Q184* poem than in the *4Q525* text. This leads one to wonder whether these four cola, introduced by the rather simple and repetitive **שעריה שער מות** might represent a redactional layer in the poem.

2.4. *The second ואין colon*

In the description of the woman veiling herself and standing at the town gates, the text continues, partially reconstructed, **ואין להרג[יעה] מה[זנו] תמיד** “and one cannot stop her from always who-
ring around.” Carmignac assumes that a few cola have been lost, but Strugnell suggests again that the text has a tricolon.

2.5. *The structural analysis of the poem*

The preceding three examples illustrate the problem of the analysis of the poem with respect to couplets (monocolon, bicolon, tricolon) and stanzas. This affects the poetical analysis, for example with regard to the boundaries between stanzas, the detection of symmetries in the poem, or the attempt to find the structural centre of the poem. Carmignac’s rigid construction of ten stanzas of each six cola should be rejected, whereas Moore’s and Baumgarten’s divisions of the poem in three parts are too general. Poli and Miller, who disagree with respect to the number and demarcation of the stanzas in the second half of the poem are two attempts of a closer analysis of the poem which allows for irregularity in the stanzas. (29) My own analysis in progress, differing in detail from those of other scholars, is presented in the appendix.

3. Poetical Aspects

3.1. *Vocabulary and syntax*

The poem has no cases of the so-called prosaic elements such as the definite article, the object particle **את**, or **אשר**. (30) More remarkable is the absence—noted by Carmignac—of all prepositions except **ב** and

(29) For which see Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 162: “Once it is agreed that regularity is not a necessary factor in either the stanza or the strophe ... then a great deal of confusion is removed.”

(30) On these, cf., e.g., Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 54. Because of the non-use of the article, I prefer to understand **יחד** in the phrase **על [פתי] ב[ש] יחד** as a noun.

ל, and a few times מן. The suggestion that the omission of such words, combined with other features, is an indication of the lack of genius of the poet is too hasty, and the overall use or non-use of prepositions should be studied. Schoors observed that the author tends to use direct government where the use of a preposition is possible. This holds true for most cases where the object immediately follows the verb. (31) Examples given by Schoors are משנות עול, “lead astray towards wickedness”; ירדו שחת, “descend to the pit”; להטות דרך, “to turn from the path.” Other examples, not mentioned by Schoors, seem to be יכן פחז, “set on being insolent”; תמכו שוח, “grasp the pit”; תאהל שבת, “she pitches camp to stay”; probably, in view of the available space, also לרוא[ת א]יש, “to see/spot a man”; perhaps also הולכי ישר, rather than הולכים בישר (as in *Prov* 14:2). In short, the avoidance of prepositions would rather seem to be intentional, and related to syntactic features.

A phenomenon in this poem which, to my knowledge, has not been explicitly mentioned, is a repeated preference for plural noun forms, even where the singular forms are more common. This goes for the unique form תועות, “errors,” rather than singular תועה; the plural אשמות, “guilts,” which is not unique, but less common than the singular; אפלות, “darknesses”; אישוני, “middle” (?), in the collocation לילה באישני as against לילה באישן of *Prov* 7:9.

More generally, the poem uses words that are not attested in the Hebrew Bible or in the other Dead Sea Scrolls, or uses known words in *binyanim* that are not attested. (32) Such hapaxes seem to be the form שוח, generally taken as a sideform of שוחה, “pit”; possibly משלותיה, to be explained as a noun derived from של“ה, “to be at ease”; the *hifil* הביל, either *hibbil* from נב“ל, “to make foolish,” or perhaps from הב“ל, and then “to make empty, to delude”?; להפשיע, a *hifil* of פשע, “to cause to sin,” or perhaps of פשע, in the meaning of “to step away”. Interesting is also the *hifil* השכיל, which given the context has the meaning “to look.”

Another typical phenomenon of this poem is the repeated use of roots in both a verbal and a nominal form in this poem. Thus one finds חלק and חלקות, the (probably) infinitive פחז and the noun פחז. In the same strophe תאהל and אהלי. We find נחלתה and twice נוחליה. Again we see the common noun דרך and the verb ידרוכו, and the noun פשע and the verb להפשיע. For that reason, we may consider the possibility that להביל is connected to הבל.

(31) But this has not always happened. See ותשכן באהלי where ותשכן אהלי could have been possible. Perhaps likewise באשמות? See also ישר במעגלי ישר.

(32) See also Poli, *La via della sapienza oscura*, 299.

Schoors mentioned the special syntactical feature that in ישרים "to turn upright men from the path," the object precedes the infinitive. The same is the case in הולכי ישר, סמוכי יצר להביל, and להטות דרך. More generally, there are other cases where the object precedes the verb, as in ועפעפיה בפחו תרים.

3.2. *Parallelism and style*

One of the problems mentioned above concerns the boundaries between the stanzas. In part, stanzas can be distinguished by theme and style, but repeatedly there are parallel word pairs, repetitions, or common forms that cross the perceived boundaries. For example, in what is seen by all as the third stanza, the first cola of the three couplets describe the clothing of the figure in various terms of darkness, even if the word for the clothing is reconstructed twice:

ורוב פשעים בכנפיה	[שמלותיה] מוסדי חושך	3ab
[ומלבשיה]	[בגדי]ה תועפות לילה	3cd
ועדיה נגועי שחת	מכסיה אפלות נשף	3ef

Perhaps the last colon of this stanza continues the idea of darkness and apparel. In that light, כנפיה in the second colon could also refer to the figure's clothing. However, the syntactical structure of the colon is different and the colon does not refer to darkness: "many sins are in her skirts." The idea of sins connects this colon with the previous stanza, with its reference to להרשיע and אשמות. The colon might therefore be parallel to רגליה להרשיע ירדו, with כנפים parallel to רגלים. In that case כנפיה does not mean "skirts" but rather "wings." There has been dispute about the meaning of כנפים in this poem. (33) However, we should consider the possibility of an intended ambiguity, the colon serving as a kind of Janus parallelism.

A comparable case is מכסיה in the same stanza. Generally it is interpreted as some kind of coverings of the body, parallel to the preceding מלבשיה, "her clothing." Hence, translations like "garments," or even "veils." However, on the basis of *Isa* 14:11 with its parallelism between "the bed (יצע) beneath you" and "your covering" (מכסך) we may also link it to the next stanza which describes the figure's couch and bed. Hence, the colon might just as well be parallel to צרשיה יצועי שחת, "her couches are beds of the pit." Here again we should consider a Janus parallelism.

(33) See, e.g., Matthew J. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (VTSup 116; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 109–10 n. 26, 114 n. 44 in reaction to Baumgarten, "On the Nature of the Seductress in 4Q184."

The last colon in this stanza illustrates a different kind of connection between colons in different stanzas: the נגועי שחת, “plagues of the pit,” are linked to יצועי שחת, “beds of the pit,” from the next colon. A different kind of repetition connects what I see as the sixth and seventh stanza, where we find the comparable cola “her ways are ways of death,” and “her gates are gates of death.”

At times, the parallelism and syntax of the 4Q184 poem appear to be repetitious and monotonous. At least twelve of the cola have the structure of a nominal clause of the type “her x are y of z”. For example, מלונותיה משכבי חושך, “her night-dwellings are beds of darkness.” Or, much more simple, the just mentioned cola “her ways are ways of death,” and “her gates are gates of death.” These kinds of clauses are found incidentally in poetry in descriptions, such as Job 40:18 עצמיו אפיקי נחושה, “its bones are tubes of bronze,” or Prov 3:17 דרכיה דרכי נעם, her ways are ways of pleasantness. However, the repeated use of such phrases is unique for 4Q184. (34) Most of these “her x are y of z” clauses are part of extensive descriptions, and can be categorized as listing. (35)

3.3. Anthological or exegetical style

It is clear that the poet uses Prov 1-9 intensively. Earlier scholars commented on verbal and thematic correspondences. Michael Lesley has taken the analysis some steps further. (36) He argues that the poet is involved in scriptural interpretation by connecting the characters of folly of Prov 1-9 with the figure of sin or sinners of Isa 59. He thus forms a new figure. Lesley analyses the interpretational moves of the poet, linking figures of Proverbs, in detail, and in an innovative way. I only briefly refer to the connection he makes with Isa 59. At first sight the combination is indirect. Proverbs 1:16 and Isa 59:7 share the colon רגליהם לרע ירוצו, “their feet run to evil,” a clause not found in one of the wisdom and folly poems of Proverbs, but in a description of sinners. The colon has a partial correspondence in 4Q184 ירדו רגליה להרשיע. However, a closer look at Isa 59 demonstrates other correspondences. This chapter provides correspondences which are not found in Proverbs, such as Isa 59:3 כפיהם ננאלו בדם, and later in the

(34) A few such clauses do seem to be found in Ben Sira’s description of wisdom, such as וחבלתה בנדי כתם, “and her chain garments of gold,” followed in the next strophe by ומוסרתיה תכלת פתיל, “and her bonds a cord of blue.” But these are both in B-cola (Sir 6:29-30), and they are elliptical, implying “upon” or “for you”.

(35) I owe this insight to Shem Miller, who pays extensive attention to lists in his dissertation.

(36) Lesley, “Exegetical Wiles,” 40.

verse עולה, iniquity, which connects to 4Q184 בעול נגעלו [כפיה]. Or, one may compare the imagery of webs in *Isa* 59:5-6, that cannot serve as clothing or covering (ולא יתכסו), with the negative description of the coverings of the figure (מכסיה) in 4Q184. The connection between *Prov* 1-9 and *Isa* 59 also sheds light on the description of the house of Lady Folly in 4Q525 15 as reconstructed by Qimron and myself. When I first wrote about 4Q525, I did not understand why the poet imported the idea of snakes in the house of Folly or in Sheol, and I ventured that there must be mythological associations. Yet, the imagery in *Isa* 59 of adders and vipers provides the background.

4. The Poet

Carmignac's criticism of the poet of 4Q184 misses the point. If we read the poem as an imitation or emulation of biblical poetry, especially the poems on wisdom and folly in Proverbs, then we might comment that it does not have a comparable literary level. However, the poet plays a different kind of game. On the literary level, the poet demonstrates his own poetic techniques. Repetitious, almost monotonous phrases used for listing, are used to weave a web, connecting cola through partial repetitions or Janus parallelisms, using words in uncommon forms, and linking them to lexically or semantically related ones. And at the same time those repetitious nominal phrase cola alternate which verbal phrase ones that choose for unusual word order or syntactical constructions.

Just as we have to reconsider the poetical techniques or skills of the poet, so we also have to give credit to the poet for doing something different than imitating or emulating biblical poetry. Lesley has forcefully demonstrated the theological, exegetical and anthological character of the poem and, in my eyes, has rehabilitated its poet.

APPENDIX

וב[פיה תשא שו]א	[]ה תוציא הבל	1ab
[ול]שנן דבר[י] פיה	תועות תשחר תמיד	1cd
ולהליך יחד בש[פתי] עול	[לענ]וקלס תחליק	1ef
[]וכליותיה מק	לבה יכין פחוז	2ab
ידיה תמכו שוח	[כפיה] בעול נגעלו	2cd
[]הלכת באשמות	רגליה להרשיע ירדו	2ef
ורוב פשעים בכנפיה	[שמלותיה] מוסדי חושך	3ab
[]ומלבשיה	[בגדי]ה תועפות לילה	3cd
ועדיה נגועי שחת	מכסיה אפלות נשף	3ef
ומטותיה מעמקי בור	ערשיה יצועי שחת	4ab

מלונותיה משכבי חושך	ובאישי ליל[ה] משלותיה	4cd
ממוסדי אפלות תאהל שבת	ותשכון באהלי דומה	4ef
בתוך מוקדי עולם	ואין נחלתה בתוך [ב]כול מאירי נונה	4gh
והיא ראשית כול דרכי עול	הוי הוה לכול נוחליה	5a-c
	ושדדה לכ[ול] תומכי בה	
כיא דרכיה דרכי מות	ואורחותיה שבילי חטאת	6ab
מעגלותיה משנות עול	ונתיבו[תי]ה אשמות פשע	6cd
שעריה שערי מות	בפתח ביתה תצעד שאו[ל]	7ab
כ[ו]ל[ל] באיה לוא [ישובון	וכל נוחליה ירדו שחת	7cd
וה[י]א במסתרם תארוב	ו[] כול[] []	8ab
ברחובות עיר תתעלף	ובשערי קריות תתיצב	8c-e
	ואין להרג[יעה] מה[זנו]ת תמיד	
עיניה הנה והנה ישכילו	ועפעפיה בפחו תרים	8fg
לראו[ת] א[יש] צדיק ותשיגהו	ואיש[ע] צום ותכשילהו	9ab
ישרים להטות דרך	ולבחירי צדק מנצור מצוה	9cd
סמוכי [צ]ר להביל בפחו	והולכי ישר להשנות ח[ו]ק	9ef
להפשיע ענוים מאל	ולהטות פעמיהם מדרכי צדק	10ab
להביא זד[ו]ן ב[לב] במה	בל ידרוכו במעגלי יושר	10cd
להשנות אנוש בדרכי שוחה	ולפתות בחלקות[כול] בני איש	10ef

Eibert TigCHELAAR

YAHWE'S SPIRIT OF DECEIT

Textual Variants that Make a Difference (1 Kgs 22)

Summary

In the Qumran Period, the order of the literary units as well as their text could fluctuate, generating different editions of a number of biblical books. 1. This paper explores the connection of the *petuḥah* and *setumah* divisions in the Masoretic tradition with the different arrangement of pericopae in MT and LXX as well as the insertion of literary units in either text. 2. Readings of the OL in Kings witnessing a pre-Lucianic text have a special value in order to reconstruct the Old Greek text and its Hebrew Vorlage, particularly in the junctures between pericopes or at the initial and final points of an interpolation where significant textual variants mostly occur. 3. The Antiochean/Old Greek reading καὶ εἶπεν Οὐ δυνήσῃ, καὶ εἶπεν Ἐν σοί (1 Kgs 22:20) qualified as “an exception” or as “corrupt” preserves the text of the dialogue of Yahweh and the spirit of deceit in a striking form free of the censure suffered by the MT.

THE discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has revived text-critical studies of the Bible which had declined in the decades before the final publication of these manuscripts. There seems to be a rebirth of a holistic vision which attempts to connect textual criticism with disciplines as comparative Semitics, literary criticism and the history of the interpretation of the biblical text. The criticism of the generations before the Qumran discoveries could be accused of yielding to “laziness” and looking for no other solution to the problems of the Masoretic text (MT) than using the variants from the versions and hypothetical conjectures. But the biblical studies of the last decades can be no less guilty of “laziness” in considering that the textual and literary problems of the Masoretic text can be resolved within the Masoretic tradition, without much attention to the complex history of

the Hebrew text and to the different textual forms—not simply isolated variants—transmitted by the ancient versions (1).

1. The practice of textual criticism after Qumran

New data about the history of the biblical text furnished by the Dead Sea Scrolls suggest a new way of practicing textual and literary criticism, especially in those books transmitted in two or more editions or literary forms, as it is the case, in greater or lesser degree, of Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges, Samuel-Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Song of Songs, Daniel, Esther and Esdras (2). The history of the Biblical text does not follow, as it was previously thought, a straight line (“geradelinig”) of textual transmission from the “original” to the “canonical” form of the text (3). Decisive factors in the editing and canonization of a book were “a fixed arrangement of content” and “the tendency to produce a standardized text” (4). In the Qumran Period, both the order of the literary units as well as

(1) I would like to thank Dr. Pablo Torijano, The Hebrew Department, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, for the English translation of the Spanish original. This paper has been produced in the framework of the public Research Project “Nueva Edición Políglota de Textos Bíblicos”, funded by the Spanish Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación.

“While it is often true that the LXX and other versions are sought out ‘only when the MT is unintelligible’, many textual critics too easily give up seeking solutions to difficult and obscure passages in MT and turn to various ancient versions too soon. In recent years such an overemphasis on the LXX as against MT has been criticized by Barthélemy and his followers, notably Pisano, and others”, David T. Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel* (Gran Rapids MI / Cambridge UK: Erdmans, 2007), 8; Dominique Barthélemy, “La qualité du texte massorétique de Samuel”, in *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel* (1980 Proceedings IOSCS – Vienna; ed. Emanuel Tov; Jerusalem: Academon, 1980), 1-44; Stephen Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel: The Significant Pluses and Minuses in the Massoretic, LXX and Qumran Texts* (OBO 57; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1984).

(2) Eugene Ulrich, “Multiple Literary Editions: Reflections toward a Theory of the History of the Biblical Text”, *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (STDJ 20, Leiden: Brill, 1996), 78-105. The multiple literary editions are reflected in the LXX and its secondary versions, cf. Jean-Claude Haelewyck, “The Relevance of the Old Latin Version for the Septuagint, With Special Emphasis on the Book of Esther”, *JTS* NS 57 (2006) 439-473.

(3) “(MT) ist der geradelinig weiterüberlieferte Text des Kanons in seiner Grundsprache. Alle Übersetzungen, auch wenn sie sehr alt sind, stellen doch nur Abzweigungen dar”, Martin Noth, *Die Welt des Alten Testaments. Einführung in die Grenzgebiete der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft* (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1953), 286.

(4) Nahum M. Sarna, “The Order of the Books”, in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History and Literature in Honor of I. Edward Kiev* (ed. Charles Berlin, New York: Ktav, 1971), 407-413, esp. 411 and 413, n. 15.

their text could fluctuate, generating thus different editions of a given book. The critical analysis should neither mix their texts nor correct the MT by isolated LXX readings as it has been done frequently in the past. But the histories of the Hebrew and the Greek text (with their versions) cannot be taken apart from each other. Biblical textual criticism distances itself from textual criticism of classical texts whose manuscript tradition starts with an autograph or author's original, and in the same measure it gets closer to criticism of texts transmitted in a plurality of editions or textual forms, like those of apocryphal and pseudoepigraphic writings, and of Qumran (5), New Testament, and Rabbinic works (6).

A joint analysis of textual and literary criticism is particularly necessary in those books transmitted in two or more editions or textual forms that circulated in parallel and influenced each other thus creating new variants (7). The reconstruction of the "original" or Ur-Text still remains the theoretical object of textual criticism. Nevertheless, the

(5) Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Angela Kim Harkins, "Observations on the Editorial Shaping of the So-Called Community Hymns from 1QH^a and 4QH^a (4Q427)", *DSD* 12 (2005) 233-256.

(6) Gary D. Martin, *Multiple Originals. New Approaches to Hebrew Bible Textual Criticism* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010). "Textkritik, so betrachtet, geht über die Frage nach dem 'Urtext' hinaus. Sie eröffnet neue Perspektiven für das Verständnis des Lesers in seiner Geschichte. Sie ermöglicht damit rückwirkend auch einen besseren Einsatz des sog. 'inneren' Kriteriums der Textkritik", Barbara Aland, "Welche Rolle spielen Textkritik und Textgeschichte für das Verständnis des Neuen Testaments? Frühe Leserperspektiven", *New Testament Studies* 52 (2006) 303-318, 318. "The rise of notions such as the indeterminacy, multivalency and polysemy has forced textual scholars to interrogate the presuppositions underlying the practices of their guild. Perhaps no longer should the privileging of one text over another be seen as the sole objective of the textual critic; just as important—and perhaps sometimes more important—is the 'mouvance' from one form of a text to another", Chaim Milikowsky, "Reflections on the Practice of Textual Criticism in the Study of Midrash Aggada: The Legitimacy, the Indispensability and the Feasibility of Recovering and Presenting the (Most) Original Text", *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash*, Carol Bakhos (ed.), *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, (Supplements of 106, Leiden: Brill, 2006), 79-110, 79.

(7) Hermann-Josef Stipp, "Das Verhältnis von Textkritik und Literarkritik in neueren alttestamentlichen Veröffentlichungen," *BZ* 34 (1990) 16-37; Zipora Talshir, "The Contribution of Diverging Traditions Preserved in the Septuagint to Literary Criticism of the Bible", in *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. Leonard J. Greenspoon; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 21-41; George J. Brooke, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Demise of the Distinction Between Higher and Lower Criticism", in *New Directions in Qumran Studies* (ed. Jonathan G. Campbell, William John Lyons and Lloyd K. Pietersen; London: T & T Clark, 2005), 26-42; Ronald S. Hendel, "Plural Texts and Literary Criticism: For Instance, 1 Samuel 17", *Textus* 23 (2007) 97-114.

oldest text that can be reconstructed is no longer that of an autograph or of a first or last edition, but the closest text to a given textual form or edition, behind which lies at times an archetypal form from which it derived. Beyond the correction of typos and deliberate changes introduced in the copying of manuscripts, textual criticism of the historical books has to describe the larger-scope changes introduced by editors, such as the rearrangement of paragraphs and the inclusion of comments, prologues, or epilogues that left traces in the textual transmission of the MT or the LXX. Editors' activities can be distinguished from those of redactors through the textual traces left by their editorial activity. These traces are most easily discernible by a joint analysis of textual and literary criticism.

One example is enough to emphasise that the different textual traditions are all interconnected and cannot be studied separately, at least if one claims to reach the oldest levels of the text, quite a justified claim as this same example shows. In 2 Kgs 13:23 the Greek text of Codex B and its dependent manuscripts omit the MT expression "up to now" (*ad 'āttā*). Most critics give preference to the short reading of LXX^B. Barthélemy considers that this omission is due to a modernising tendency of the Greek translator (8). But the text represented by LXX^B does not correspond to that of the original Greek translation but to the text of a revision of the LXX, the so called kaige recension of about the 1st century BCE. The old Greek text (OG) is represented here by the pre-Lucianic text, which places MT 13:23 after 13:7. At this point (13:7) the OG has the reading "until now". Accordingly, preference cannot be given to an assumed short reading of the LXX, nor can one speak of modernisation by the translator. Both texts agree on the reading but position it differently.

The LXX order keeps the different units in their proper setting. The deuteronomistic commentary of MT 13:23 interrupts the notice on Hazael of Aram (13:22.24-25), whereas in LXX both this notice and the Dtr commentary of 13:2-7.23 present a continuous text, without any interruption or transposition. Furthermore, the textual layout of MT breaks the composition rule according to which any compositional unit—be it a chronicle notice, a narrative or a deuteronomistic commentary—must be located within the regnal frame with which it composes a synchrony, that is, between the initial and final formulae of the reign in question. In fact, in MT the initial formula of 13:10-11 and the conclusive one of 13:12-13 follow each other, leaving outside of the frame of the reign of Joash the narrative about Elisha's death and the notice on the Aramean war in which that king took part. These

(8) Dominique Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament* (vol. 1, Fribourg: Universitätsverlag – Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 402.

regnal formulae form a unit preceded and followed by *petuḥah*. They are followed by the prophetic narratives around Elisha's death (13:14-21) and the Aramean wars (13:22-25). These materials, framed by *petuḥot*, stand outside any regnal frame. Also, MT repeats the conclusive formula of 13:12-13 later on in 14:15-16, followed here by *petuḥah* (LXX ignores v. 15). On the contrary, the OG text attested by L and Josephus presents the conclusive formula of Joash after 13:25, a verse followed by *petuḥah*, thus integrating within the frame of that reign the materials which synchronize according to the aforementioned composition rule of the book of Kings.

As J.A. Montgomery acknowledged, the conclusive formula of Jehoash is "in the right place" following the notice of 13:24-25. Montgomery considers that "Lucian is a weak authority, even with his faculty of putting things in their right place" (9). But here we are not before the Lucianic text of the 4th century, but before the pre-Lucianic or OG text which, in this as in other cases, preserves clauses or literary units "in their right place" (10). Global rather than atomistic comparison between the different textual traditions allows each variant to be placed in its context. It also makes possible to go back to the oldest levels of textual tradition, represented in the kaige section of LXX Kings (γδ, 1 Kgs 22–2 Kgs 25) by the pre-Lucianic text.

This paper presents an exceptional case ("wirklich eine Ausnahme", Rahlfs) in which the antioquene text preserves "in its right place" a pre-Lucianic and OG reading that becomes an essential element of the story in which the prophet Micaiah sees the Lord sitting on his throne, with all the host of heaven standing beside him to the right and to the left of him:

OG / OH	MT
(20) And said, "Who will entice Ahab, so that he may go up to Ramath-gilead and fall there?" Then one said one thing, and another (>) another. And [the Lord] said: "You shall not succeed".	(20) And the Lord said, "Who will entice Ahab, so that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead?" Then one said one thing, and another said another.

(9) James A. Montgomery, *The Book of Kings* (ed. H. Gehman, ICC, Edinburgh, 1951), 434.

(10) Julio Trebelle, "Textual Criticism and the Literary Structure and Composition of 1-2 Kings / 3-4 Reigns. The Different Sequence of Literary Units in MT and LXX," in *Die Septuaginta—Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte. 3. International Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 22.-25. Juli 2010* (eds. Siegfried Kreuzer, Martin Meiser und Marcus Sigismund; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 55-78.

OG / OH	MT
(21) And a spirit came forward and stood before the Lord, saying, "I will entice him." (22) And the Lord asked him, "With whom?" "With you" he replied. And he said, "I will go out and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets and I will entice him." Then he [the Lord] said, "You shall succeed; go out and do it."	(21) And a spirit came forward and stood before the Lord, saying, "I will entice him." (22) And the Lord asked him, "How?" And he said, "I will go out and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets." Then he [the Lord] said, "You are to entice him, and you shall succeed; go out and do it."

The Masoretic tradition has omitted or censored a surprising piece of textual evidence about Yahweh’s Spirit of deceit and the divine origin of his power.

Textual criticism is frequently considered a painful labour deprived of any reward because nothing important can be achieved; all the work seems to have been already done. But this does not apply to textual criticism of the historical books, of Kings in particular. We do not yet dispose of a critical edition of the LXX of Joshua-Kings in the Göttingen series. A text-critical edition of Kings can be significantly different from Rahlf’s standard edition that is based mainly on the B text. However, in the kaige sections the B text represents the kaige recension next to a proto-MT while the OG—represented by the pre-Lucianic text—reflects an earlier Hebrew edition.

It is generally thought that the textual history of the historical books is similar to that of the Pentateuch, an error similar to that of the classical exegesis trying to extend the Pentateuch sources to Joshua-Kings. The textual history of the Former Prophets is much more plural than that of the Torah, Isaiah or Minor Prophets. The books of Samuel-Kings have an increasing complex editorial and textual history in contact with the books of Chronicles, Isaiah and Jeremiah. Chronicles preserves sometimes readings agreeing with the pre-Lucianic Greek that go back to a Hebrew of Samuel-Kings older than the one transmitted by the MT.

This paper presents variant readings that make a difference if one reads the MT or the Hebrew reflected by the OG. But to arrive to such a conclusion the path that has to be trod is tough and slow, without haste for reconstructing either the OG text or old stages of the Hebrew text. In order to progress in this direction it is necessary 1) to start with the analysis of the secondary versions, especially the Old Latin (OL)

and the Armenian (Arm); 2) to identify the text of the different LXX recensions—Hexaplaric, Lucianic and kaige-; 3) to recognize or reconstruct the OG text; 4) to reconstruct as far as possible the Hebrew text underlying the LXX and, finally, 5) to compare the two Hebrew textual forms represented by Kings MT and LXX in order to reconstruct as far as possible a previous text or texts of which MT and LXX take origin. The comparison of these two textual forms of Kings and also of that represented by Chronicles allows us for venturing into the study of the process of composition and edition of the book.

The present paper is part of a more extensive study of 2 Kgs 22. Its purpose is to analyse in detail a whole chapter of the kaige section γδ (2 Kgs 22–2 Kgs 25). This section offers the best proving ground to apply the proposed methodology and to test the value of the secondary versions and of their *Vorlage*: a pre-Lucianic text, prior to the historical Lucian and very close or identical to the OG. A case in point is, for example, in the βγ section (1 Kgs 1:1–2:10) that of 1 Kgs 1:52. The OL and the Sahidic Coptic (*Vivit Dominus si...*) attest here the pre-Lucianic (OG) reading ζῆ κύριος εἰ... = ...חַי יְהוָה אִם..., the usual expression in Samuel-Kings (11). A similar case is found in 1 Sam 28:3.9 where the rare Hebrew word יִדְעֹנִי (*yide'onî*) / יִדְעֹנִים, “wizard/s”, is translated in the B majority text by a more precise expression: τοὺς γνῶστας. But the Lucianic text preserves the pre-Lucianic (OG) reading τοὺς ἀποφθεγγόμενους ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, “those who utter from the earth”, reflected exactly in OL as *et eos qui respondebant a terra*, in the Sahidic Coptic “those who would answer from the earth” and also in the Georgian version “those who speak from the earth” (12). Also in the Pentateuch the reading *Geri-zim* (Deut 27:4-7) is preserved in the Samaritan Pentateuch as well as in the OL and the Coptic tradition of the OG (13). The readings of the OL, Aethiopic, Sahidic Coptic, Armenian or Georgian versions agreeing

(11) Andrés Piquer, “An Old Greek Reading Attested in the Sahidic and Old Latin Fragments of 1Kgs 1:52. Text-critical Analysis and Relationship with the Hebrew Text”, *Henoch* 30/1 (2008) 80-93.

(12) Andrés Piquer, “Who names the Namers? The Interpretation of Necromantic Terms in Jewish Translations of the Bible”, *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honor of Julio Trebolle Barrera* (eds. Andrés Piquer Otero and Pablo A. Torijano, Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2012), 241-276, esp. 267.

(13) Adrian Schenker, “Le Seigneur choisira-t-il le lieu de son nom ou l’a-t-il choisi?: l’apport de la Bible grecque ancienne à l’histoire du texte samaritain et massorétique”, *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 339-351; David A. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 167-8.

with the pre-Lucianic text prove to have a special value since these versions had no direct dependence along their textual history.

The research starts therefore from the recent witnesses and proceeds back to the ancient textual stages. The first step will be to study the possible relations of the Masoretic signs of division *petuḥah* and *setumah* with editorial phenomena such as the addition or transposition of literary units from one place to another in the context of a given book. 1 Kgs 22 is divided in three sections, each of them marked by *petuḥah* or *setumah*: vv. 2-40, the story about the Aramean war and the previous prophetic consult; vv. 41-51, the formula and data relating to Jehoshaphat's reign, and vv. 52-54, the initial formula of the reign of Ahaziah of Israel. The second pericope, 22:41-51, delimited by the sings of *petuḥah* and *setumah*, is not part of the OG text represented here by LXX^L. B and L have it in another context: 1 Kgs 16:28a-h. In this way, B repeats this passage: in 1 Kgs 16:28a-h with an OG text and in 22:41-51 with a kaige text. Similarly 22:47-50, a section missing in LXX appears in the OG after 1 Kgs 16:28a-h at a point signaled with *petuḥah*.

Rahlfs observes that the antioquean text has only the text of 1 Kgs 16:28a-h and maintains in 1 Kgs 22 the version בַּעֲיִי = ἐν ὥπιον characteristic of the γγ section (1 Kgs 2:11-21 (20)) against the version בַּעֲיִי = ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς, a semitism that characterizes the γδ section (1 Kgs 22-2 Kgs 25). Rahlfs comes near to recognize that L could preserve the original Grek previous to a very old revision ("eine in ältester Zeit vorgenommene Überarbeitung") (14). But he rejects such possibility because L has a similar duplicate in 2 Kgs 1:17-18 and 3:1-3. He finally concludes that L is based on a text similar to B, but omits 22:41-51 as incompatible with 1 Kgs 16:28a-h and corrects in 2 Kings, although not consistently, ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς in favour of the Greek expression ἐν ὥπιον. Following Thackeray's hypothesis about the existence of two translators, one responsible for the γγ section and another one for the γδ section (15), Rahlfs attributes the duplicate in B (1 Kgs 16:28a-h and 22:41-51) to these two distinct translators.

But the discovery of the Greek scroll of Minor Prophets of Naḥal Hever (HeverXII gr = 8Hev 1) prompted D. Barthélemy to revise Thackeray's hypothesis and to identify, instead of two translators, two

(14) "Man könnte also meinen, dass L noch den jener alten Überarbeitung vorausgehenden ursprünglichen Text bewahrt hätte. Aber das glaube ich nicht", Alfred Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher (Septuaginta Studien III)*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911), 267.

(15) Henry St. John Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings", *Journal of Theological Studies* 8 (1907) 262-278.

stages in the textual history of the LXX: an original translation and a subsequent revision, the so called kaige recension that affected the text of the $\beta\gamma$ and $\gamma\delta$ sections (16). This recension is the equivalent of “the very old revision” conjectured but finally rejected by Rahlfs (“eine in ältester Zeit vorgenommene Überarbeitung”). Rahlfs was rightly convinced that the original LXX version was free of duplicates such as those of 1 Kgs 22:41-51 // 1 Kgs 16:28a-h and 2 Kgs 1:17-18 // 3:1-3, but he preferred to attribute these duplicates to two distinct translators instead of accepting that B transmits the text of an ancient recension and L preserves the OG text as the post-Qumran research has established. In spite of being prejudiced against the possible existence of a “Lucian before Lucian,” Rahlfs was himself compelled to recognize that at least a few readings of L cannot be explained through the B text but are to be reckoned as pre-Lucianic (17). In this paper some of these readings will be analysed, particularly that in 22:20 that Rahlfs considers “ein merkwürdiger Fall, der in gewisser Weise wirklich eine Ausnahme bildet”: L καὶ εἶπεν Οὐ δυνήσῃ, καὶ εἶπεν Ἐν σοί (18).

2. From the Masoretic divisions *petuḥah* and *setumah* to the interpolation or transposition of literary units in Qumran, MT and LXX

Late phenomena in textual transmission as the *petuḥah* and *setumah* divisions in the Masoretic tradition or the hexaplaric additions can be connected with phenomena occurred in the editorial process of the biblical books: the different arrangement of pericopae in MT or LXX and the glosses or interpolations inserted in either text. As stated by David Carr, the “Hellenistic-period authors limited themselves to rearranging older material (e.g. Psalms and parts of prophetic books) and/or expanding on older material” (19).

Qumran texts show significant cases of transposition of literary units from a context to another. The transposed pericopae appear frequently marked in the Masoretic tradition by signs of *petuḥah* (פ) or

(16) Dominique Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (VT.S 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963), 91; Shenkel, James D., *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* (HSM 1; Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 5-21; McLay, Tim, “Kaige and Septuagint Research,” *Textus* XIX (1998) 127-139.

(17) Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, 192-258.

(18) Alfred Rahlfs, *Studien zu den Königsbüchern* (Septuaginta-Studien I; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1904), 80.

(19) Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 191.

setumah (ס). In Mishnaic times, the introduction of changes in the *petuhot* and *setumot* system in Torah manuscripts for liturgical usage was forbidden. Qumran manuscripts attest the existence of such divisions in far earlier times (20). The Samaritan Pentateuch, 4QReworked Pentateuch and the Temple Scroll show significant cases of transposition of literary units from a context to another. Molly Zahn points out the case of the Samaritan Pentateuch, where the instructions for the making of the incense altar Exod 30:1-10 are relocated to after Exod 26:35 (21). The same rearrangement is partially extant in the protosamaritan manuscript 4QpaleoExod^m. The pericope of Exod 30:1-10 appears between *petuhot*. It is an appendix to chapters 25–31 (22).

In the same way 4Q366 4 (4QReworked Pentateuch) relocates Deut 16:13-14 after Num 29:32–30:1, thus bringing into proximity two laws on the festival of Sukkot. The unit of Num 29:32–30:1 appears between *petuḥah* and *setumah*.

The Temple Scroll (TS) “collects together a variety of laws pertaining to sacrifice and indeed TS proceeds topically, rather than according to the pentateuchal sequence, from this point [Deut 17:1] all the way through 55:13, where it finally arrives back at Deut 17:2

(20) Emanuel Tov, “Sense Divisions in the Qumran Texts, the Masoretic Text, and Ancient Translations of the Bible”, in *The Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia* (ed. Jože Krašovec; JSOTSup 289; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 121-46; id, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2004), 143-162; Eugene Ulrich, “Impressions and Intuition. Sense Divisions in Ancient Manuscripts of Isaiah”, in *Unit Delimitation in Biblical Hebrew and Northwest Semitic Literature* (eds. Marjo C.A. Korpel and Josef M. Oesch; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 279-307; Hans Bardtke, “Die Parascheneinteilung der Jesajarolle I von Qumran”, *Festschrift F. Dornseiff* (Leipzig: VEB Bibliogr. Inst., 1953), 33-75; Joachim Conrad, “Die Entstehung und Motivierung alttestamentlichen Paraschen im Licht der Qumranfunde”, in *Bibel und Qumran. Beiträge zur Erforschung der Beziehungen zwischen Bibel und Qumranwissenschaft* (Festschrift Hans Bardtke; Berlin: Evangelische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft, 1966), 47-56; Joseph M. Oesch, “Textgliederung im Alten Testament und in der Qumranhandschriften”, *Henoch* 5 (1983) 289-321; Ernst Kutsch, “Die Textgliederung im hebräischen Hiobbuch sowie in 4QtgJob und in 11QtgJob”, *BZ* 27 (1983) 221-228; Jesper Hoegenhaven, “The First Isaiah Scroll from Qumran (1QIs^a) and the Massoretic Text. Some Reflections with Special Regard to Isaiah 1-12”, *JSOT* 28 (1984) 17-35.

(21) Molly M. Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture. Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2011), 159. “Scholars conclude that some materials (e.g., Ex 30:1-10) were added after the main narrative was established. But why were they placed here? We might have done it differently, but it is worth pondering why the writers and editors did things they [sic] way they did”, Gerald J. Janzen, *Exodus* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), 216.

(22) John Durham, *Exodus* (Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1987), 351.

(Deut 17:1 occurs at TS 52:4)” (23). Deut 17:1 is a good example of movable unit framed by signs of *setumah*.

Equally in 4Q524 “the laws governing sexual relations are followed by the law of levirate marriage (Deut 25:5-10)”. Molly Zahn quotes Émile Puech edition in DJD: “Après un petit vacat commencerait une citation apparemment complète de Dt 25:5-9 (10)?, le paragraph concernant la loi ou le devoir du lévirat” (24). Puech’s doubt regarding the inclusion of v. 10 is solved if we take into account that the pericope is completed with this verse as shown by the Masoretic division that includes Dt 15:5-10 between two *setumot*.

a. Joshua

A notable case of “movable” pericope framed by *petuhot* is Josh 8:30-35. In 4QJosh^a this unit appears before 5:2-7, preceded by *setumah*. Thus, the first altar in the newly-entered land was built by Joshua at Gilgal immediately after the crossing of the Jordan (after Josh 4), not later on Mount Ebal as according to MT 8:30-35 (25). The Septuagint has this unit after 9:1-2, verses also framed by *petuhot*.

The Old Latin duplicates the unit of 9:1-2 with two different textual forms. The first appears between 8:1-29 marked by *petuhot* and 8:30-35. The second appears between 8:30-35 and 9:3-27, a unit also framed by *petuhot*. In this way, the repetition of the OL fulfils an editorial role. It underscores the “mobile” character of this literary piece, which can appear either after the report of the conquest of Ai (MT 8:1-29); after 9:2, before the story of the Gibeonites (according to the LXX); or before 5:2-7, the account of the circumcision at Gilgal (following 4QJosh^a).

MT adds later on two verses in chapter 10: v. 15, preceded by ב, and v. 43, followed by ב. The Hebrew underlying the Old Greek did not have these verses. They are Hexaplaric additions in the Greek. These additions in MT are connected with the prominent role which Gilgal plays in the entrance to the land in 4:19-20 and 5:9 and with the textual layout in 4QJosh^a. 5:9 is preceded by ב.

(23) Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture*, 221-222.

(24) Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4 · XVIII Textes hébreux (4Q521-4Q528, 4Q576-4Q579)* (DJD XXV, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1998), 107.

(25) Eugene Ulrich, 4Q47. 4QJosh^a, in *Qumran Cave 4, IX. Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (eds. Eugene Ulrich et al.; DJD XIV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 143-15; Michaël Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation. The Redaction of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Oldest Textual Witnesses* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2004), 479-522.

OL	LXX	4QJosh ^a	MT	Josh 5 – 10
	5:1	5:1	ⲅ 5:1	The kings of the Amorites
	5:2-12	8:30-35	ⲅ 5:2-12 ⲅ	Circuncision at Gilgal
	8:1-29	5:X, 2-7...	ⲅ 8:1-29 ⲅ	Conquest of Ai
	>		ⲅ 8:30-35 ⲅ	The altar on Mount Ebal
9:1-2	9:1-2		ⲅ 9:1-2 ⲅ	Six-seven peoples
8:30-35	8:30-35			
9:1-2				
	9:3-27		ⲅ 9:3-27 ⲅ	The Gibeonites in Gilgal
	10:1-14		ⲅ 10:1-14 ⲅ	Battle in Gibeon
	>		ⲅ 15	“Then Joshua returned the camp at Gilgal”
	16-27		16-27 ⲅ	Conquest of the South
	10:28-42		ⲅ 10:28-42	
	>		43 ⲅ	“Then Joshua returned, to the camp at Gilgal”
	ⲅ 11:1-5 ⲅ		ⲅ 11:1-5 ⲅ	Conquest of the North

b. *Joshua-Judges*

4QJugd^a offers an also notable example of literary unit either added or perhaps transposed to other place in the composition (26). This manuscript ignores the literary unit of Judg 6:7-10, marked by two *petuhot*. Dealing with “The case of 4QJugd^a” Richard S. Hess tends to attribute such “anomalies” to scribes and copyists in the period of textual transmission (27). But these omissions and transpositions are

(26) É. Puech has recently attempted to identify the totality of fragments of 1QJudges (1Q6), correcting reading errors in the *editio princeps*. The proposed reconstruction gives an idea of column widths and of the layout of the text in the preserved sections. It especially allows us to detect the presence or absence of *vacats* which often do not match those in the MT tradition, Émile Puech, “Les manuscrits 4QJuges^c (=4Q50^a) et 1QJuges (=1Q6)”, in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (eds. Peter W. Flint, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2006), 184-202.

(27) “...it may be appropriate to ask whether the scribes did not find and exercise a liberty in moving these paragraphs of their Former Prophets around, inserting and omitting sections for their own purposes, be they liturgical or otherwise”; “...a tendency to insert, omit and change sections or paragraphs of biblical text at what would become the Masoretic *parashoth* divisions of text”; “Although these divisions are regularly according to sense, a fuller understanding of their purpose and application is appropriate before conclusions should be drawn about the relation

not “anomalies” of texts other than the MT. Those present in the LXX form rather part of the the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint. In fact many of the cases here considered are to be attributed to the activity of composers or editors in the period of the formation of the textual forms of MT and LXX.

At the end of the book of Joshua LXX has two verses wanting in MT: 24:33a and 33b. This last verse, 33b, is composed of three sentences. Each one links with a similar or parallel sentence in Judges, all three followed by **ב**:

The first (33b α), “the Israelites departed every one to their place, and to their own city”, connects with Judg 2:6, followed by **ב**, “the Israelites all went to their own inheritances to take possession of the land.”

The second (33b β), “and the Israelites worshipped Astarte, and Astaroth, and the gods of the nations round about them”, has its counterpart in Judg 2:11-12, followed by **ב**, “The Israelites... worshipped the Baals (+ LXX and Astarte)... gods of the peoples who were all around them”.

The third sentence (33b γ), “and the Lord delivered them into the hands of Eglom king of Moab and he ruled over them eighteen years”, has its parallel in Judg 3:12-14, followed by **ב**, “and the Lord strengthened King Eglon of Moab against Israel... So the Israelites served King Eglon of Moab for eighteen years” (28).

Literary criticism has identified in Josh 23 another Dtr ending of the book. This chapter is followed by **ב** and also joins with Judg 2:6, preceded by **ב** (29).

It has also been proposed that Josh 21:43-45, a unity placed between **ב** and **ב**, is an ancient ending of Joshua connected with Judg 2:8-10* (30). These verses are followed by **ב**.

of editorial work along these divisions and the assumptions of higher criticism”, Richard S. Hess, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Higher Criticism of the Hebrew Bible: The Case of 4QJudg^a”, in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures. Qumran Fifty Years After* (eds. Stanley E. Porter & Craig A. Evans; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 122-128, 126-127.

(28) Alexander Rofé, “The End of the Book of Joshua According to the Septuaginta”, *Henoch* 4 (1982) 17-36.

(29) Harmut N. Rösel, *Von Joshua bis Jojachin. Untersuchungen zu den deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbüchern des Alten Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 49-58.

(30) Uwe Becker, *Richterzeit und Königtum. Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Richterbuch* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990), 68-72.

Joshua linking with	Judges	Interposed materials in Judges
24:33b ^a LXX οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπῆλθον ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῶν...	פ 2:6 וילכו בני ישראל איש לנחלתו...	ס (seder) 1:1 - 2:5 פ
24:33b ^b LXX καὶ ἐσέβοντο οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν Ἀστάρτην...	פ 2:11 ויעבדו את הבעלים + καὶ τῇ Ἀστάρτῃ (L)	ס (seder) 1:1 - 2:10 ס
24:33b ^γ LXX καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς Κύριος εἰς χεῖρας Εγλωμ τῷ βασιλεῖ Μωαβ...	פ 3:12 ויחזק יהוה את עגלון מלך מואב...	ס (seder) 1:1 - 2:12 ס
23 פ	פ 2:6	ס (seder) 1:1 - 2:5 פ
ס 21:43-45 פ	2:8-10 ס // פ Josh 24:29-30	ס (seder) 1:1 - 2:7

The material of MT 24:28-31 is differently ordered in LXX: 24:28.31.29-30. This is the order of verses that appears duplicated in Judg 2:6-9. The position of the פ before Joshua 24:29 and of a פ also before Judg 2:6 clearly delimits two units: vv. 28.31 (Joshua dismisses the people) and vv. 29-30 (the death and burial of Joshua). This repetition establishes another link between the two books that skips Judg 1:1 - 2:5 (פ after v. 5).

LXX Joshua 24:28.31 and 29-30 (MT: 24:28-31)	Judg 2:6-7 and 8-9.
(28) And Joshua dismissed the people, and they went every man to his place.	(6) פ When Joshua dismissed the people, the Israelites all went to their own inheritances to take possession of the land.
(31) And Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that lived as long as Joshua, and all that knew all the works of the Lord which he wrought for Israel.	(7) The people worshipped the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders who outlived Joshua, who had seen all the great work that the Lord had done for Israel.
פ (29) And it came to pass after these things that Joshua the son of Naue the servant of the Lord died, at the age of a hundred and ten years.	(8) Joshua son of Nun, the servant of the Lord, died at the age of one hundred and ten years.

LXX Joshua 24:28.31 and 29-30 (MT: 24:28-31)	Judg 2:6-7 and 8-9.
(30) And they buried him by the borders of his inheritance in Thamnasarach in the mount of Ephraim, northward of the mount of Galaad.	(9) So they buried him within the bounds of his inheritance in Tmnath-heres, in the hill county of Ephraim, north of Mount Gaash.

After Judges 2:10 the Antiochean text duplicates the v. 3:6. In this way the Lucianic text presents one of its typical duplicates, repeating 3:6 in a different context and with some textual variants. This repetition encloses Judg 2:11 - 3:6, a section generally attributed to the Dtr and well delimited by a **ס** at its beginning (before 2:11) and a **פ** at its end (after 3:6). The repetition present in the Lucianic text functions as a kind of *Wiederaufnahme* that attest the transition from 2:10 to 3:5, skipping the Dtr commentary inserted in between.

LXX ^L Judg 2:10 (ס) καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ κατῴκουν μετὰ τῶν χαναναίων καὶ τῶν χετταίων καὶ τῶν εὐαίων καὶ...	// MT Judg 3:5-6 פ ובני ישראל ישבו בקרב הכנעני ...החתי	ס Judg 2:11 - 3:6 (dtr)
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Another doublet present in LXX^L and OL repeats the short reference to a judge of Judah, Shamgar, inserted in a book which includes only judges of the northern tribes. Of Shamgar is said that he “killed six hundred of the Philistines with an ox-goad. He too delivered Israel”. This is mobile unit placed in 3:31 according to MT, but located in 16:31 following the OG represented here by LXX^L and OL. This mobile unit is framed by *setumot* in 3:31 and followed by *petuḥah* in 16:31. It is better placed at the end of chapter 16 because of the common reference to the Philistines rather than in chapter 3 where it interrupts the succession of the narratives of chapters 3 and 4. The OG probably did not contain such a duplicate, but only the verse about Shamgar at the end of the book in 16:31, before the appendixes of chapters 17-21.

In 2:1 the L and C codices as well as Medieval manuscripts show an interval between 1a and 1b, where LXX has καὶ ἐπὶ Βαιθηλ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ.

All these repetitions, transpositions, additions and links between Joshua and Judges go back to the process of formation of the book of Judges. They are textual traces left by the editors of this book that was transmitted in two textual forms (MT and LXX). Both editions

differentiate themselves by the way of integrating the literary units and tacking their trends at the points of suture among them (31).

c. *Samuel-Chronicles*

The short movable unit of 2 Sam 3:2-5 concerning David's children in Hebron is framed by *petuhah* and *setumah*. It appears in Chronicles in a different context, in 1 Chr 3:1-4, marked also by a double *setumah*.

The unit about the years of David's reign in Hebron and Jerusalem, 2 Sam 5:4-5, is preceded by *petuhah*. It is missing in Chronicles as well as in 4QSam^a. Its absence also from OL and Josephus reflects probably an omission in the OG (32). K. Budde placed in chap. 8 the whole of 5:4-5 with 3:2-4 preceded by *setumah* and 5:13-16 framed by *petuhah* and *setumah*, thus attributing to this pericope a "mobile" quality (33).

1 Sam 3:2-3 is a parenthetical text framed by *setumah* and *petuhah*. It refers to Eli and to the ark of God, thus linking the story of Eli and his sons (chaps. 1 - 3) with that of the ark (chaps. 4 - 6). The traces left in the syntax of the sentence in 3:2 betray an interpolation that begins with the initial formula ...וַיְהִי בַיּוֹם הַהוּא, "At that time...", which finds no continuation until v. 4: "(At that time) Yahweh called...".

The unit 1 Sam 2:22-26 about the sons of Eli is framed by *setumah* as well as by a linking repetition: 2:21b וַיִּגְדַּל הַנַּעַר שְׁמֹאֵל עִם יְהוָה, "And the boy Samuel grew up with the Lord" (to be corrected with 4QSam^a לִפְנֵי יְהוָה and LXX ἐν τῷ πρὸς κυρίου, "in the presence of the Lord", cf. Syr and Tg) – 2:26 וַהֲנַעַר שְׁמֹאֵל הָלַךְ וַיִּגְדַּל... עִם יְהוָה, "and the boy Samuel continued to grow... with the Lord". This unit as well as others concerning Eli's children (1 Sam 2:12-17; 2:22-26; 2:27-36;

(31) Books of the Pentateuch also conclude with different different appendices, cf. Eep Talstra, "Deuteronomy 31. Confusion or Conclusion? The Story of Moses—Threefold Succession", in *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic Literature* (ed. Marc Vervenne and Johann Lust, Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 87-103. The Books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles show also traces of different beginnings and endings, cf. Julio Trebolle, "Samuel/Kings and Chronicles: Book Divisions and Textual Composition", in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (eds. Peter W. Flint, Emanuel Tov and James C. VanderKam, Leiden: Brill, 2006), 96-108.

(32) Eugene Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (Missoula MT: Scholars Press, 1978), 60-61; Dominique Barthélemy, "La qualité du texte massorétique de Samuel", in *1980 Proceedings IOSCS* (ed. Emanuel Tov, Jerusalem, 1980), 1-14; Julio Trebolle, "El estudio de 4QSam^a: implicaciones exegéticas e históricas," *Estudios Bíblicos* 39 (1981), 5-18.

(33) Karl Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel* (KHC VIII; Tübingen-Leipzig, 1902), 219.

4:12-18.19-22) were inserted in the previous Samuel's narrative (1 Sam 1:1-28 + 2:11; 2:18-21; 3:1 - 4:1a) (34).

The verse 1 Sam 6:17 framed by *setumot* is a parenthetical addition concerning the number and origin of the gold tumors which the Philistines returned as a guilt-offering to the Lord.

The pericope 1 Sam 13:19-23 framed by *setumot* is also a parenthetical insertion about the price of sharpening the axes in the land of the Philistines (35).

The unit of 1 Sam 17:34-36 delimited by *setumot* is a digression about David rescuing lambs from lions and bears.

In the story of David and Goliath the pericopes wanting in the Septuagint are signaled by a previous sign of division, even in the case of a single verse missing in the Greek, v. 18:30:

LXX 1 Sam 17 – 18	MT SAM 17 – 18
17:1-11	17,1-11 ⚭
>	12-31
32-54	32-54
>	17,55 - 18:5 ⚭
6-9	6-9 ⚭
>	10-11
12-16	12-16 ⚭
>	17-19
20-29	20-29 ⚭
>(36).	30 ⚭

d. *Kings-Chronicles*

a. Additions

The pericope of MT 1 Kgs 6:11-14 framed by *petuḥah* and *setumah* is absent from the OG. It contains the oracle of an anonymous prophet, a late addition strange in the context.

(34) Julio Trebolle, "Textual Criticism and the Composition History of Samuel. Connections Between Pericopes in 1 Samuel 1 - 4", in *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel. The Entangling of the Textual and Literary History* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2010), 261-286, especially 265, 268 and 285.

(35) Cf. Julio Trebolle, *Centena in libros Samuelis et Regum. Variantes textuales y composición literaria en los libros de Samuel y Reyes* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1989), 71.

(36) Emanuel Tov, "The Nature of the Differences Between MT and the LXX in 1 Sam. 17-18", in *The Story of David and Goliath: Textual and Literary Criticism* (ed. Dominique Barthélemy et al.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht – Fribourg: University Press, 1986), 5-18; Julio Trebolle, "The Story of David and Goliath (1 Sam 17-18): Textual Variants and Literary Composition", *BIOSCS* 23 (1990) 16-30.

Likewise the long literary unit about Ahijah's judgment upon Jeroboam, MT 14:1-20, is framed by *petuḥot* and is wanting in the OG that reproduces an alternative story.

At the end of verse 1 Kgs 5:15, preceded by פ and followed by ס, 2 Chronicles inserts 1:18 - 2:1 (Solomon's preparations for the Temple construction) framed by *petuḥot*. Afterwards both texts run in parallel in 1 Kgs 5:16 // 2 Chr 2:2.

The pericope 1 Kgs 7:27-37 (The ten stands of bronze) is placed between *petuḥah* and *setumah*. It is missing in the parallel text of 2 Chr 4 between vv. 5 and 6. At this point a *setumah* in Chronicles and a *petuḥah* in Kings marks the end of the previous unit of 2 Chr 4:1-5 // 1 Kgs 7:22-26. At the same point, between vv. 26 and 27 of 1 Kgs 7, meaningful variants are produced. OG omits the last words of MT 1 Kgs 7:26 יכיל בת אלפים. Likewise in the parallel text of 2 Chronicles the Syriac version omits the last words of 4:5 מחזיק בתים שלשת אלפים. יכיל. The literary unit of 1 Kgs 7:27-37 wanting in Chronicles is delimited by a ring repetition at its beginning and end: "He also made the ten stands of bronze" (27)—"After this manner he made the ten stands" (37).

The unit 2 Chr 6:41-42, located between פ and ס and added to the end of Solomon's prayer (1 Kgs 8:53 פ) inserts at this point vv. 8-10 + 1 of Psalm 132.

b. Transpositions

In 1 Kgs 3 - 10 MT and LXX present numerous cases of transposition with extensive parallels in Chronicles. Movable pieces placed in one place or another in MT and LXX are: 3:1b; 5:1a-4; 5:31-32a; 6:37-38; 7:1-12; 9:16-17a; 9:15.17b-22; 9:24a.

The pericope of 1 Kgs 7:1-12 about the construction of the royal palace is marked at its end with *petuḥah*. It is omitted in Chronicles and appears in LXX after the unit of 7:21-51, whose end is also marked by *petuḥah*.

The materials of MT 1 Kgs 4:20 - 5:14, preceeded by the sign ס, abbreviation of סדר ("order, sequence") and followed by ס, appear in LXX in the order: 5:7-8. 2-4. 9-14. The unit of vv. 2-4 is preceeded in MT by *petuḥah* as the unit of vv. 9-14 by *setumah*.

MT divides the narrative about Shimei in two parts placed in different contexts: the first, 2:8-9, as part of David's testament; the second, 2:36-46, after the execution of Adonijah and Joab. The first part, together with v. 7 dealing with the sons of Barzillai, is a clear addition to David's testament, inserted between a *Wiederaufnahme* and preceded by *setumah*.

“(6) Act therefore according to <i>your wisdom</i> , but do not let <i>his grey head</i> go down to <i>Sheol</i> in peace. [vv. 7-9a, Shimei’s story] <i>You will know</i> what you ought to do to him, and you must bring <i>his grey head</i> down with blood to <i>Sheol</i> ”	ועשית כחכמתך ולא תורד שיבתו בשלם שאל ס [vv. 7-9a, Shimei’s story] ידעת את אשר תעשה לו ותורדת את שיבתו בדם שאול
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LXX keeps the two parts of the narrative together, 2:351-o.36-46, forming a literary unit clearly delimited by an introduction (OG καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔτι Δαυιδ ζῆν ἐνετείλατο τῷ Σαλωμων λέγων) and by the material of the “supplement” following thereafter: 2:46a-l.

In 1 Kgs 10 two movable units are found. The material of MT 1 Kgs 9:15.17b-22 appears in LXX after MT 10:18-22. Also MT 5:1a is located in LXX after MT 10:26. Chronicles has the same order: 2 Chr 9:25.26a. These transpositions as well as the masoretic divisions contribute to delimit the units of this passage. The parallel units in Kings and Chronicles appear marked by masoretic divisions as follows:

2 Chr 9	LXX Kgs 10	MT Kgs 10
<p>ⲙ 9:13-16</p> <p>ⲙ 9:17-21</p> <p>ⲙ 9:22-24</p> <p>ⲙ 9:25</p> <p>9:26a</p> <p>9:27-28 ⲙ</p>	<p>10:14-17</p> <p>10:18-22</p> <p>9:15.17b-22</p> <p>10:23-25</p> <p>10:26</p> <p>5:1a</p> <p>10:27-29</p>	<p>ⲙ 10:14-17 Solomon’s gold</p> <p>ⲙ 10:18-22 Solomon’s throne, vessels and fleet</p> <p>10:23-25 Solomon’s wisdom</p> <p>ⲙ 10:26 Solomon’s chariots and horses</p> <p>10:27-29 ⲙ Silver, cedar, horses and chariots</p>

As said before, 1 Kgs 22 is divided in three sections, vv. 2-40, 41-51 and 52-54, each of them marked by *petuḥah* or *setumah*. The second pericope, 22:41-51, delimited by the sings of *petuḥah* and *setumah*, is found in the OG in 1 Kgs 16:28a-h. Similarly 22:47-50 appears in the OG after 1 Kgs 16:28a-h at a point signaled with *petuḥah*.

The unit 2 Kgs 18:9-12, framed by *petuḥot*, is a summary or duplicate of 1 Kgs 17:5-6, inscribed also between *petuḥot*.

Transpositions attested by OL and LXX^L in kaige section correspond also to literary units marked by masoretic divisions. The narrative of Elisha’s death and burial in 2 Kgs 13:14-21 is placed between *petuḥot*. The OL (*Vindobonensis*) places this narrative in an earlier location, in chapter 10, between vv. 30 and 31, after the initial formula of Jehu’s reign and the Dtr judgment at the end of the narratives about Elisha and his disciples. In MT the initial and final regnal formulae of

Jehoash' reing appear one after the other, 2 Kgs 13:10-11.12-13, framed by *petuḥot*. These regnal formulae are followed by the prophetic narratives around Elisha's death (13:14-21) and the Aramean wars (13:22-25). Both units are signaled by *petuḥot*. They stand outside any regnal frame, breaking the law that governs the composition of Kings.

The strange location of some division signs seems to be related to a transposition or interpolation in the text. Thus in MT 2 Kgs 1:17b the location of *petuḥah* disrupts the course of the clause at the point in which a transposition has been produced: the clause "in the second year of king Jehoram..." of v. 18a (LXX^L = OG) was relocated to v. 17 (MT).

L (OG) καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰωράμ... ἀντ' αὐτοῦ	B kaige >	פ ימלך יהרם תחתיו
	>	בשנת שנים ליהורם בן יהושפט
ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ υἱός	>	מלך יהודה
		כי לא היה לו בן

In the same way, MT 2 Kgs 12:1 offers a notice out of place, enclosed by *setumah* and *petuḥah*: "Jehoash was seven years old when he began to reign". In the OG attested by the antiochean text (LXX^L) this sentence appears integrated in the usual clause: "In the seventh year of Jehu, Jehoash began to reign; he was seven years old when he began to reign..." (12:1-2). According to E. Würthwein LXX^L could have transposed the clauses because of "Angleichung an das gewöhnliche Schema", but the usual pattern was a rule for the composer or editor and not so much for later scribes not attentiv to old formal patterns (37).

The presence of the *petuḥah* and *setumah* divisions is especially worthy of consideration when examining units introduced by זא, "then", a particle frequent in the insertion of glosses. The pericope of 1 Kgs 16:21-22 framed by *petuḥot* and introduced by זא, "Then the people of Israel were divided into two parts...", is placed outside the regnal formulae of Zimri and Omri, breaking in this way a composition rule of Kings. This small unit is probably an interpolation related to the chronological system of Kings as differently attested in MT and LXX (38).

2 Kgs 15:16 is another inserted verse introduced with זא, "then", and framed by *setumah* and *petuḥah*: "Then Menahem sacked Tiph-sah...". This notice is also placed outside any regnal frame, breaking once more the composition rule of Kings.

(37) Ernst Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. 1 Kön. 12 – 2.Kön. 25* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 353.

(38) Ronald S. Hendel, "The Two Editions of the Royal Chronology in Kings", in *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera. Florilegium Complutense* (eds. Andrés Piquer Otero and Pablo A. Torijano Morales; Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012), 99-114, espec. 103.

In 1 Kgs 8:12-13 // 2 Chr 6:1-2 a poem was introduced with **יֵאֵ** after *petuḥah* in both books: “Then Solomon said: ‘The Lord has said that he would dwell in thick darkness...’. This is a movable unit placed in LXX after 8:53 and followed in MT by *petuḥah*.

MT 1 Kgs 9:16-17a together with 3:1 forms a movable pericope located in LXX after 5:14. The Antiochean text preserves the OG reading τότε (B οτε) at the beginning of the unit: MT “Pharaoh king of Egypt had gone up and captured Gezer...” – OG “Then (τότε, **יֵאֵ**) went up Pharaoh the king of Egypt, and took Gazer...”

1 Kgs 9:24a, “But (MT **וְ**) Pharaoh’s daughter went up from the city of David to her own house...”, is also a movable unit that appears in LXX after 9:10 signaled in MT with *petuḥah*. The Greek reading τότε (**יֵאֵ**) instead of MT **וְ** betrays also the secondary character of this notice: “Then (τότε) Solomon brought up the daughter of Pharaoh out of the city of David...”.

The pericope about the dedication of the Temple starts with **יֵאֵ** (1 Kgs 8:1): “Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel...”. In OG this is the apodosis of the protasis: “And it came to pass when Solomon had finished building the house of the Lord and his own house after twenty years, then king Solomon assembled all the elders...”. This protasis repeats expressions of 9:1, “When Solomon had finished building the house of the Lord and the king’s house”, and 9:10, “At the end of twenty years, in which Solomon had built the two houses, the house of the Lord and the king’s house”. These two parallel verses enclose the unit about the Lord’s second appearance to Solomon (9:2-9) that is framed by *petuḥot*.

The unit of 1 Kgs 11:7.5.8.6.9-10 (following the LXX order of verses) begins with **יֵאֵ**: “Then Solomon built a high place for Chemosh...”. V. 7 is preceded by *setumah* and v. 10 is followed by *petuḥah*. This pericope is also framed by a *Wiederaufnahme*, v. 4b repeated in v. 10 according to the LXX: “and his heart was not wholly true to the Lord his God, as was the heart of David his father” (οὐκ ἦν ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ... οὐκ ἦν ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ).

The story of Solomon’s judgement (1 Kgs 3:16-28) framed by *petuḥah* and *setumah* begins also with the particle **יֵאֵ**: “Then two harlots came to the king...”. This narrative is inserted between the story of Solomon’s prayer in Gibeon (3:4-15) and the list of his officials (4:1-19). This unit is missing in Chronicles and appears enclosed by a kind of *Wiederaufnahme*: it is preceded by “And he reigned over Israel” in 1 Chr 1:13 and followed by “Solomon was king over Israel” in 1 Kgs 4:1 (cf. LXX).

The notice of 2 Kgs 12:18-19 is introduced also with **יֵאֵ** and preceded by *petuḥah*: “Then Hazael king of Syria went up...”. In a

similar way the notice of 2 Kgs 16:5 introduced by יִרְא, “Then Rezin king of Syria...”, is probably an insertion (39).

As a consequence, Kings and Chronicles show a considerable number of masoretic divisions that are not related to the liturgical reading but to the earlier process of composition and edition of these books. The two editions of Kings represented by MT and LXX as well as the edition represented by Chronicles are especially open to a study of the division of pericopae that takes into account the presence of the Masoretic signs of division *petuḥah* and *setumah* (40).

e. *Jeremiah*

The transpositions in MT and LXX of Jeremiah show clearly that the *vacats* in the early manuscripts—forerunners of the Medieval signs of division—were somehow related to the process of composition or edition of this book and other biblical books. These divisions were not introduced on an established text but on a text that was still *in fieri*. As it is generally acknowledged the Septuagint of Jeremiah and 4QJer^{b,d} transmit the text of a previous edition of this book and MT together with 4QJer^{a,c} that of a second augmented edition (41). The units transposed between MT and LXX appear between signs of *setumah* as follows: (42)

(39) “*az* ersetzt kaum ein genaues Datum, das in einem vorliegenden Archivtext gestanden hat. Vielmehr weist der lose Anschluss auf eine interpolation hin, die nicht von vornherein als Archivmaterial beurteilt werden sollte”, Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige*. 1 Kön. 12 – 2 Kön. 25, 387.

(40) François Langlamet, “Les divisions massorétiques du livre de Samuel: À propos de la publication du codex du Caïre”, *RB* 91 (1984) 481-519; Marjo C.A. Korpel, “Introduction to the Series Pericope”, in *Delimitation Criticism. A New Tool in Biblical Scholarship* (eds. Marjo C.A. Korpel and Josef M. Oesch; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2000), 1-50, 22; Korpel, Marjo C.A. and Josef M. Oesch (eds.), *Studies in Scriptural Unit Division* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2002); Oesch, Josef M., *Petucha und Setuma. Untersuchungen zu einer überlieferten Gliederung im hebräischen Text des Alten Testaments* (OBO 27; Fribourg – Göttingen, 1979), 45-54, 71-79, 102-103 and 263-264.

(41) “It seems very likely that the OG was translated from a Hebrew text which was very close to these two Qumran texts,” Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2001), 320; id., “70.72b. 4QJer^{a-c},” in *Qumran Cave 4 · X: The Prophets* (ed. Eugene. Ulrich, Frank Moore Cross, Russell E. Fuller, Judith E. Sanderson, Patrick W. Skehan and Emanuel Tov; DJD XIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 145-207. Sobre la reciente investigación Armin Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer, Band I: Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 304-314. More recently, Georg Fischer, “Die Diskussion um den Jeremiahtext”, in *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20.-23. Juli 2006* (eds. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 612-629; Hermann-Josef Stipp, “Zur aktuellen Diskussion um das Verhältnis der Textformen des Jeremiahtextes”, *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*, 630-653.

(42) Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer, Band I*, 315-316.

MT			LXX	
ⲅ	25:15-38	ⲅ	32:15-38	Judgment on the Nations
ⲅ	44:1-30	ⲅ	51:1-30	Jeremiah's Last Words
ⲅ	45:1-5	ⲅ	51:31-35	The Consolation of Baruch
ⲅ	46:1-28	ⲅ	26:2-8	Against Egypt
ⲅ	2-12	ⲅ	2-12	The Battle of Carchemish
ⲅ	13-28	ⲅ	13-28	The Invasion of Egypt
ⲅ	47:1-7	ⲅ	29:1-7	Against Philistia
ⲅ	48:1-47	ⲅ	31:1-40	Against Moab
ⲅ	49:1-6	ⲅ	30:1-5	Against Ammon
ⲅ	49:7-22	ⲅ	29:8-23	Against Edom
ⲅ	49:23-27	ⲅ	30:12-16	Against Damascus
ⲅ	49:28-33	ⲅ	30:6-11	Against Arabia
ⲅ	49:34-39	ⲅ	25:14 - 6:1	Against Elam
ⲅ	50:1-51:58	ⲅ	27:1-28:58	Against Babylon
ⲅ	51:59-64	ⲅ	28:59-64	The Oracle in the Euphrates

The OL (codex *Wirceburgensis*) omits Jer MT 39:1-2. These verses are marked with asterisk in Origen's Greek text, showing that they did not appear in the OG (BHS: "1.2 add ex 52,4sqq"). V. 1 is framed by ⲅ and ⲅ.

The quotations of the book of Jeremiah in the Qumran literature frequently begin with a verse preceded by a sign of division. This fact shows that the beginning of a pericope played a certain role in selecting a passage to be quoted. The following cases are to be considered: ⲅ Jer 5:1, 4Q298 1-2 I₂; ⲅ 10:12-13, 11QPs^a XXVI₁₃₋₁₅; ⲅ 10:23, 1QH^a VII_{25f}; ⲅ 18:18, 4Q177 XI₆; ⲅ 20:13, 4Q434 I I₁; ⲅ 20:13, 1QH^a VII₃₄; ⲅ 23:14-17, 4Q175_{27f}; ⲅ 31:15, 4QWords of God (4Q392) 1₆; ⲅ 33:17, 4Q252 V₂; ⲅ 38:2, 1QH^a VII₅.

The kind of study here proposed should be systematically extended to the biblical books. Thus late passages in the Pentateuch are marked by division signs as the pericopes of Num 20:1-13 framed by *petuḥah* and *setumah*, Num 20:22-29 between *petuḥah* and *setumah*, Num 27:12-14 between *setumah* and *petuḥah* and Num 27:15-23 preceded and followed by *petuḥot*. Deut 32:48-52 framed by *petuḥah* and *setumah* is also a late unit, a possible resumptive repetition of Num 27:12-14 (44). In Josh 20:1-9 (between *petuḥot*) LXX preserves a late ("P-like") version of the law regarding cities of refuge that lacks

(43) OG omits 46:1.

(44) Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 138-139.

the addition of MT in vv. 4-6 (45). The oracle about the Davidic king in Jer 23:5-6 located between *setumot* was revised in the proto-MT plus of Jer 33:14-26 (cf. vv. 15-16), a unit also inscribed between *setumot* and missing in the Greek version (46). In Ezekiel Papyrus 967 lacks counterparts to longer passages found in the proto-MT as Ezek 16:26-28 (between *petuḥah* and *setumah*). The oracle of Ezek 36:37-38 framed by *setumot*, the vision of Yahweh's restoration of Israel (MT 37:1-14 between *setumah* and *petuḥah*) and the recreation of a unified Israel (MT 37:15-28 between *petuḥah* and *setumah*) are late additions (47). The unit of 2 Kgs 25:27-30 preceeded by *petuḥah* is a final note about Jehoiachin's release written by a scribe in the exile.

Transpositions and additions are the most important and recurrent phenomena in the history of the composition, edition and transmission of the Biblical text. The more recent period in the LXX history is that of the Hexaplaric recension that incorporated in the text Greek terms or passages that were absent from the OG. These additions were marked by asteriks. In the same way terms or expressions of LXX absent in MT were pointed out with obelus. Readings marked by asterisk or obelus generally correspond to additions added in the Hebrew tradition of MT or the Greek *Vorlage*. The additions of MT absent from OG generally specify elements of the text such as an interlocutor ("[he said] to the king of Israel", 1 Kgs 22:4; "to him", v. 15), a location ("in the camp", v. 36), or a temporal circumstance ("still", vv. 7 and 8). In the same way, the additions of LXX marked with obelus to indicate that they are not part of MT burden also the text with short notices that, generally, specify the subject of a sentence or other circumstances of time and place.

According to De Vries, "the essential utility of the LXX arises in the task of identifying additions to the Heb. text. The original that commends itself is, therefore, a text that lacks all the LXX and Chron.

(45) Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 171; Alexander Rofé, "Joshua 20: Historico-Literary Criticism Illustrated", in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (ed. Jeffrey Tigay; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 131-147.

(46) Adrian Schenker, "La rédaction longue du livre de Jérémie doit-elle être datée au temps des premiers Hasmonéens", *ETL* 70 (1994) 281-193, espec. 286-289.

(47) Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "Le témoignage de la Vetus Latina dans l'études de la tradition des Septante. Ezéchiel et Daniel dans le Papyrus 967", *Bib* 59 (1978) 384-395; Johan Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40 in the Oldest Greek Manuscript", *CBQ* 43 (1981) 517-533; id., "Major Divergences Between LXX and MT in Ezekiel", in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible* (ed. Adrian Schenker; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 83-92; Ashley S. Crane, *Israel's Restoration: A Textual-Comparative Exploration of Ezekiel 38 - 39* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 207-225.

pluses and virtually all the pluses of the MT" (48). In point of fact, the supposed "original", or better, *the texts* previous to MT and the LXX *Vorlage* lacked almost all the additions marked with asterisk or obelus. However, it is not possible to imagine a text that was totally deprived of elements that somehow specified the subject of a clause, identified a character or clarified some circumstance, especially of time and location. Every Qumran text contains similar additions, as for example, 4QJosh^a: "Joshua" (3:17), "wheat" (3:15) or "now" (7:12).

The task of textual criticism does not finish with the elimination of the Hexaplaric additions marked with asterisk or obelus. The "utility" of LXX is not reduced to detect the additions of the Masoretic text or of the LXX *Vorlage*. Some added elements are not isolated but form groups of variants linked among them. They may go back to interventions in the editorial process, as it will be shown later in the case of the variants οὐχ οὕτως and οὐκ ἐγώ (22:17.19). Similarly, the addition of καὶ δώσει in v. 15, absent from the Antioquean text, makes possible to acknowledge a double reading in the LXX *Vorlage* (cf. *infra*, 5.).

Many of the short additions of LXX and MT marked either with asterisk or obelus can be devoid of importance. But the longer additions pose problems that belong to literary criticism and often correspond to elements added to the main body of the composition of 1-2 Kings. Such is the case of 1 Kgs 22:47-50, a section that did not belong to the LXX *Vorlage*. The hexaplaric recension (A 121 247 Arm SyrHex) took its text from Aquila's version. It appears in the OG after 1 Kgs 16:28a-h at a point signaled with *petuḥah*. Würthwein points out that this passage is found in an unusual location ("ungewöhnlicher Stelle"), after the first part of the Dtr conclusive formula, when it should be placed previously: "Now the rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat... are they not written in the Book of the Annals..." (v. 46) (49). This material was inserted at a late stage in the text.

In conclusion, late phenomena in textual transmission as the *petuḥah* and *setumah* divisions in the Masoretic tradition as well as the hexaplaric additions can be connected with phenomena occurred in the editorial process of the biblical books. These phenomena are mainly the different arrangement of pericopae in MT or LXX and the interpolations inserted in either text.

(48) Simon J. De Vries, *Prophet against Prophet: The Role of the Micaiah Narrative (1 Kings 22) in the Development of Early Prophetic Tradition* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1978), 18.

(49) Ernst Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. 1. Kön. 17 – 2. Kön. 25*, 264.

3. Textual filiation of the Old Latin variants: OL = LXX^L (OG) and OL = LXX^B (kaige)

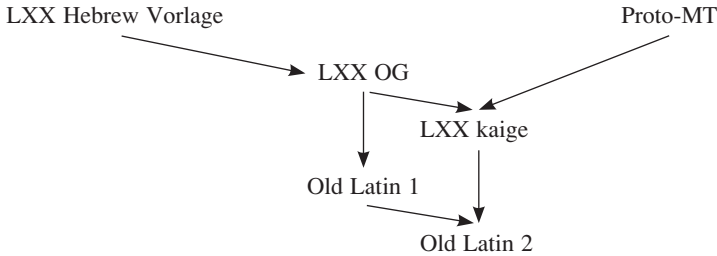
Qumran has put in value the LXX text and, consequently, that of its recensions and secondary versions as well. In order to identify the OG text of Kings the witness of the secondary versions is very important, particularly that of the OL. This version translates in an extremely literal way a pre-Hexaplaric and pre-Lucianic Greek *Vorlage*. The OL represents a pre-Lucianic Greek text, very close to the Original Greek (OG) version, which was based on a Hebrew text different from that of the Masoretic tradition and which quite frequently agrees with the Qumran text of Samuel and also of Judges (50). This textual filiation is the grounds for the critical value of the OL text.

Nevertheless, the study of the isolated texts and readings which have come to us under the label OL offer serious difficulties which is necessary to overcome before using it for textual criticism of the Greek and, even more, Hebrew texts. Disregarding here all the internal OL variants produced along the textual transmission of this version (copy errors, omissions and additions, linguistic or stylistic revisions, influences of the Vulgate tradition in the pre-Jerome text, etc.), the first task consists of discriminating between OL readings which reflect a kaige Greek text (LXX^B) from the properly OL readings which follow a pre-Lucianic and OG Greek original. (51) The OL becomes an important aid to identify pre-Lucianic readings preserved in the Antioquene that go back to the OG and, ultimately, to its Hebrew *Vorlage*: (52)

(50) Eugene Ulrich, "The Old Latin Translation of the LXX and the Hebrew Scrolls from Qumran", in *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel* (ed. Emanuel Tov; 1980 Proceedings IOSCS; Jerusalem, 1980), 121-165; id., *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 19; Missoula MT: Scholars Press, 1978); Julio Trebolle, "Textual Variants in 4QJudg and the Textual and Editorial History of the Book of Judges", in *The Texts of Qumran and the History of the Community. Proceedings of the Groningen Congress and the Dead Sea Scrolls (20-23 August 1989)*, *Revue de Qumran* 14 (1989) 229-245.

(51) Julio Trebolle, "Textos 'Kaige' en la Vetus Latina de Reyes (2 Re 10,25-28)", *RB* 89 (1982) 198-209.

(52) Julio Trebolle, "From the 'Old Latin' through the 'Old Greek' to the 'Old Hebrew' (2 Kings 10:23-25)", *Textus* 11 (1984) 17-36; Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "Bulletin de la Bible latine (1955-75)", *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature chrétienne latine* 5, *Revue bénédictine de critique, d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, 74-84 (1964-74) 162; Eugene Ulrich, "The Old Latin Translation of the LXX and the Hebrew Scrolls from Qumran", in *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel* (ed. Emanuel Tov; 1980 Proceedings IOSCS; Jerusalem, 1980), 121-165.



In 1 Kgs 22 the OL readings usually follow, as it is to be expected, a pre-Lucianic text (OL1), although in some cases, they are nearer to the B text (OL2) or follow their own way (“non aligned” readings). The OL of 1 Kgs 22 has reached us through Fathers’ quotations, particularly by Lucifer of Cagliari (53), and also through the marginal notes of a family of Spanish Vulgates formed by the mss Beuron 91, *Codex Gothicus Legionensis* dated 960; 92, *Legionensis* 2 dated 1162; 94, Library of El Escorial, 1478; and 95, *Emilianense* 2-3 from the XII century. These marginal notes were edited by Vercellone who acknowledged their affinity with L. A new edition by Antonio Moreno considerably improves the one by Vercellone cited in the Cambridge edition (54). The variants that are enumerated below correspond to Beuron 91-95, to which some other transmitted by Lucifer are added.

a. *OL readings (OL1) that follow LXX^L (OG)*

These are the most frequent OL readings through 1-2 Kings, as shown by those present in 1 Kgs 22:

– v. 8: *Micheas filius Namali* = υἱὸς Ναμαλεῖ L ≠ υἱὸς Ιεμλα B (Rahlfs).

– v. 10: *Sedebat unusquisque in throno suo armati ad viam portae Samariae* = ἐκάθηντο ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἔνοπλοι ἐν ὁδῷ πύλης Σαμαρείας L ≠ ἐκάθηντο ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ ἔνοπλοι ἐν ταῖς πύλαις Σαμαρείας B.

– v. 12: *Et diriget te bona via, et dabit Dominus in manus vestras regem Syria*, καὶ εὐδοώσει σε Κύριος καὶ δώσει εἰς χεῖράς σου

(53) Gerardus Frederik Diercks (ed.), *Luciferi Calaritani opera quae supersunt* (Turnholti: Brepols, 1978).

(54) Antonio Moreno Hernández, *Las glosas marginales de Vetus Latina en las biblias vulgatas españolas. 1-2 Reyes* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1992); Carlo Vercellone, *Variae Lectiones Vulgatae Latinae Bibliorum II* (Romae, 1864).

καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Συρίας L, καὶ εὐδοώσει καὶ δώσει κύριος εἰς χειρὰς σου καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Συρίας B. OL follows L in the reading *te* = σε. It adds *bona via* that completes the translation, quite literal, of the Greek εὐ-οδώσει. On the other hand, it approaches B in the reading *Dominus* = Κύριος (> L). The rest of the clause corresponds to a *crux interpretum* in the Greek and Hebrew texts.

– v. 15: *Ascende et diriget te Dominus in manus regis Syriae* = ἀνάβαινε καὶ εὐδοώσει κύριος ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ βασιλέως L ≠ ἀνάβαινε καὶ εὐδοώσει καὶ δώσει κύριος εἰς χεῖρα τοῦ βασιλέως B. OL presents again the pronoun *te*, absent this time from L. Afterwards it has only a verb following εὐδοώσει Κύριος against the two verbs of B εὐδοώσει καὶ δώσει κύριος. On its own it adds the word *Syriae*. The textual difficulties of v. 15 are related to those of the previous v. 12.

– v. 17: *Nonne video omnem Israel dispersum in montibus sicut oves quibus non est pastor? Et ideo vellem, Domine, ut statueris his et reverterentur singuli quique in domum suam in pace*, ἐώρακα πάντα τὸν Ἰσραὴλ διεσπαρμένον ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὡς πρόβατα οἷς οὐκ ἔστι ποιμὴν καὶ εἶπε Κύριος Εἰ κυρίως αὐτοὶ πρὸς θεὸν ἀποστραφήτω δὴ ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον ἐν εἰρήνῃ L, ἐώρακα πάντα τὸν Ἰσραὴλ διεσπαρμένον ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὡς ποιμνιον ᾧ οὐκ ἔστιν ποιμὴν καὶ εἶπεν κύριος οὐ κύριος τούτοις ἀναστρεφέτω ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ ἐν εἰρήνῃ A. Rahlfs follows the A text in the reading οὐ κύριος τούτοις. Codex Vaticanus adds θεός as a loose element at the end of the clause. The majority of LXX transmits a long reading: οὐ κύριος τούτοις εἰς θεόν. The reading *Et ideo vellem, Domine, ut statueris his...* seems to be more a paraphrasis than a translation. However *his* reflects B τούτοις (MT לָאֵלֶּיךָ) against L πρὸς θεόν.

The reading “A1.” *Et dixit Dominus: Si fidi vos estis in Deo, redeat unusquisque in domum suam in pace* reflects L Εἰ κυρίως αὐτοὶ πρὸς θεὸν (cf. *infra*). The variant *in Deo* corresponds to L πρὸς θεόν.

– v. 19: *Et dixit Micheas: Non est sic, sed audi verbum Domini!*, καὶ εἶπε Μιχαίας Οὐχ οὕτως· οὐκ ἐγώ· ἄκουσον τὸν λόγον Κυρίου· οὐχ οὕτως L, καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαιας οὐχ οὕτως οὐκ ἐγώ ἄκουε ῥῆμα κυρίου B (Rahlfs). OL omits οὐκ ἐγώ, reading marked with obelus in the SyroH and absent from MT. This data, together with the repetition of οὐχ οὕτως in L and in the context, allows us to recognize an editorial intervention in vv. 17-19 (cf. *infra*).

– v. 32: *Et exclamavit Iosaphat, et Dominus salvavit illum* = καὶ ἀνέκραξεν Ἰωσαφὰτ καὶ Κύριος ἔσωσεν αὐτόν L ≠ καὶ ἀνέκραξεν Ἰωσαφὰτ B (Rahlfs). OL reproduces the plus of L, which is also present in Hebrew in 2 Chr 18:31, יְהוָה עֲזָרוֹ.

– v. 34: *Et extendit unus sagittam suam agiliter* = καὶ ἐνέτεινεν εἷς τὸ τόξον αὐτοῦ ἀφελῶς L ≠ καὶ ἐνέτεινεν εἷς τὸ τόξον εὐστόχως B. OL *suam* reflects the reading αὐτοῦ attested by the L group (19 82 93 108 127), together with two manuscripts that represent the A group, 121 and 247. The pre-Lucianic nature of this reading is confirmed also by its presence in the Armenian (in its pre-Hexaplaric stratum), Coptic, and Ethiopic versions. The adverb *agiliter* corresponds to ἀφελῶς/ εὐστόχως. Against the apparently incorrect ἀφελῶς, derived from ἀσφαλής, “firm, certain, secure, 1. in a manner that ensures continuing detention, *securely*, 2. pertaining to being certain, *assuredly, certainly*” (55).

b. *OL readings (OL2) that follow LXX^B (kaige) against LXX^L (OG)*

They are less frequent than the previous ones, which indicates that the basic substrate of OL is pre-Lucianic or OG text.

– v. 5: *Et dixit Iosafat rex Iuda ad regem Israel: interrogare nunc hodie dominum. 6 Et conuocauit rex Israel omnes prophetas quasi quadringentos uiros, et dixit illis rex Achab: si ibo in Remma ad Galaath in pugnam aut cessabo? Et dixerunt: ascende* (Lucifer, “De regibus apostaticis” VII 150, 43-53) (56). OL follows B in three readings: *interrogate* = ἐπερωτήσατε B ≠ ἐπερωτήσωμεν L; *nunc hodie* = δη σήμερον against L omission, and *Remma* = Ρεμμαθ B ≠ Ραμῶθ L.

– v. 38: *Et laverunt currum in lacu Samariae* = καὶ ἀπένιψαν τὸ ἄρμα ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην B ≠ καὶ ἐνιψαν τὸ αἶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐν τῇ κρήνῃ Σαμαρείας L.

c. *Readings that either have a mixed text or present “non aligned” variants*

The cases of “non aligned” readings pose special difficulties as they can be due to internal development of the Latin tradition, but they can reflect also Greek readings unknown by the textual tradition of LXX and even possible Hebrew readings different from MT.

– vv. 7-8: *Et dixit Iosafat ad regem Israel: non est hic prophetes domini, et interrogabimus dominum? 8 Et dixit Achab rex Israel ad Iosafat regem: unus est per quem interrogemus dominum, sed ego odi illum, quoniam non loquitur de me bona* (Lucifer, “De regibus

(55) *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature* (Third Edition, ed. Frederick W. Danker, Chicago and London: The University Chicago Press, 2000), 147.

(56) Diercks, *Luciferi Calaritani opera quae supersunt*, 151.

apostaticis” VII 7 150, 43-53) (57). The OL text is characterized by its brevity. It follows L in the omission of B $\xi\tau\iota$ (MT עֵת). On the other hand, it follows B in the L omission of $\tilde{\omega}\delta\epsilon$ (v. 8). It omits also $\delta\iota' \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ in vv. 7 and 8 against LXX and MT. It adds on its own *Achab* and *regem* (v. 8). Finally, the version *bona* corresponds to $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}$ L, against B $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}$.

– v. 30: *Da mihi vestimentum tuum et sic introibo in bellum, et tu veste vestimentum meum; et factum est ut commutatis inter se vestimentis intrarent in pugnam*, Συγκαλύψομαι καὶ εἰσελεύσομαι εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ σὺ ἔνδυσαι τὸν ἱματισμόν μου, καὶ συνεκαλύψατο ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον L B. OL looks for the correspondence between *vestimentum tuum* and *vestimentum meum* that makes the changement of clothes more explicit.

– v. 35: *Cum enim rex Israel staret in quadriga sua et ex diverso exercitus Syriae, in tantum profluxit sanguis vulneris eius ut sub pedibus quadrigae curreret flumen cruoris eius*. The more significant aspect of OL is again an omission, which corresponds to BL $\alpha\pi\omicron$ $\pi\rho\omega\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$. Afterwards OL follows its own way that does not contribute so much to the reconstruction of the OG text (cf. *infra*, 5.).

4. From the Old Latin and the Armenian Versions to the pre-Lucianic and Old Greek text

The OL attests pre-Lucianic readings that go back to the OG text. The OL is supported many times by other versions that have no direct dependence among them such as the Armenian, the Georgian, the Aethiopic or the Sahidic Coptic.

– v. 5: *Remma* OL = Ρεμμαθ B \neq Ῥαμώθ and v. 20 Ρεμμάθ B (רמת , *Ramot* MT); ραμαθ 19 108 93, ραμμωθ 82 127 Coptic Thdt. Ρεμμάθ is the OG form against Ῥαμώθ , a recensional variant influenced by MT רמת , *Ramot*.

The toponym “Ramot of Gilead” has in the OG text the form ρεμμαθ against the variant -ωθ , adopted in the kaige text by MT influence. The proof of it is furnished by the analysis of the distribution of these variants in the no kaige ($\gamma\gamma$) and kaige sections of 1-2 Kings.

In the no kaige $\gamma\gamma$ section MT רמת , *Ramot*, appears only in 1 Kgs 4:13 where B ερμαθ and L ερεμαθ (19 82 93 108 127), together with the Ethiopic version in *Remath*, preserve the OG reading against

(57) Diercks, *Luciferi Calaritani opera quae supersunt*, 151.

ραμωθ of the rest of the textual tradition (58). Similarly in the no kaige αα section, MT has in 1 Sam 30:27 רמֹת (“Ramot of the Negev”) but LXX and OL present the reading ραμα/ραμαθ: ραμα B, ραμαθ A 247 Arm-ed, ραμα 19 93 108, ραβαθ 82, ραμααθ 127, *Ramma* OL.

In the kaige γδ section there are eleven references to “Ramot of Gilead”. In seven of them even the majority text (B) has the form ρεμμαθ, also present in the mss of the Lucianic group 19 108 93 together with the Armenian version that attests a pre-Lucianic text. Two of the manuscripts of this group, 82 and 127, have, on the contrary, the MT ραμωθ:

- 1 Kgs 22:3: ρεμμαθ B, ραμαθ 19 108 93 Arm, ραμωθ 82 127
- 1 Kgs 22:4: ρεμμαθ B, ραμαθ 19 108 93 Arm, ραμωθ 82 127
- 1 Kgs 22:6: ρεμμαθ B, ραμαθ 19 108 93 Arm, ραμωθ 82 127
- 1 Kgs 22:12: ρεμμαθ B, ραμαθ 19 108 93 Arm, ραμωθ 82 127
- 1 Kgs 22:15: ρεμμαθ B, ραμαθ 19 108 93 Arm, ραμωθ 127 Thdt, ρωμωθ 82
- 1 Kgs 22:20: ρεμμαθ B, (ἀναβήσεται) + εις ραμωθ 19 82 93 108 127 Coptic Thdt
- 1 Kgs 22:29: ρεμμαθ B, ραμαθ 19 108 93 Arm, ραμωθ 82 127

In four cases the LXX majority text has the form akin to MT ρεμμωθ/ραμωθ, but the pre-Lucianic text represented by the mss 19 108 93 and the Armenian version preserve the OG form ραμαθ:

- 2 Kgs 8:28: ρεμμωθ/ραμωθ BA, ραμαθ 19 108 93 Arm-ed, ραμωθ 82 127 Arm-codd
- 2 Kgs 9:1: ρεμμωθ/ραμωθ BA, ραμαθ 19 108 93 Arm, ραμωθ 82 127
- 2 Kgs 9:4: ρεμμαθ B, ρεμαθ A, ραμαθ 19 108 93 Arm, ραμωθ 82 127, ρεμμωθ 158 56 119 372 Coptic, ραμμωθ 55 245 554, ραμωθ N rell
- 2 Kgs 9:14: ρεμμωθ/ραμωθ BA, ραμαθ 19 108 93 Arm, ρεμμωθ 82, ραμωθ 127.

These four references to the toponym “Ramah/Ramot” are found in the context of the notice and narrative on the Aramean war (2 Kgs 8:28 - 9:29). In 8:29 MT has רמֹה, “Ramah”, referring to “Ramot (of Gilead)” in the previous verse (v. 28 רמֹת). The standard LXX transmits the form ρεμμωθ/ραμωθ, unifying this mention of the toponym with those in the context of 2 Kgs 8 - 9. However, the OG reading ραμαθ is preserved in 19 108 93, as well as in 243 (ραμμαθ), 247 (ρεμαθ, Aeth) and the Armenian (ed) *Ramath*.

The most significant case is 2 Kgs 9:16, parallel to 2 Kgs 8:28. MT does not mention this toponym, whereas the whole of LXX (except

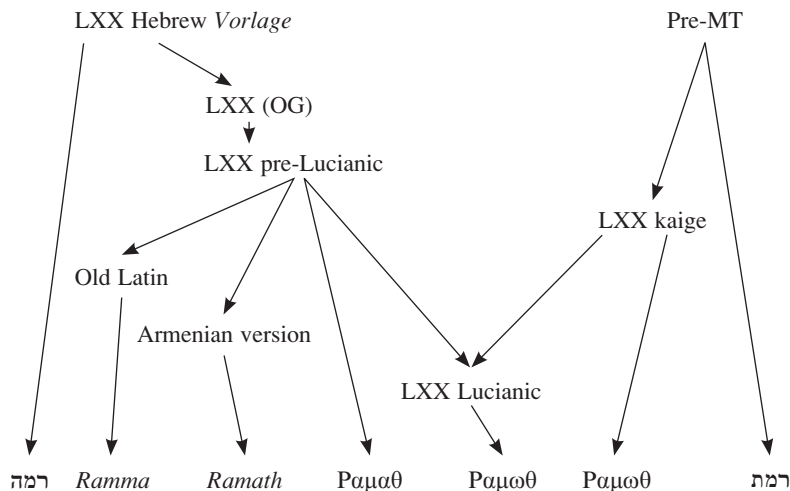
(58) B and L join εν (*in Remath*, Aeth) to the name: (E)ρεμαθ, Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, 232.

for 55 ραμμωθ) contains the OG reading: ραμαθ 19 82 93 108 127 Arm, together with 52 489 243 92 106 130 134 245; ρεμμαθ A 56 247 or ραμμαθ B rell.

The different readings in the Hebrew text could have been originated in the composition of 2 Kgs 8:28 - 9:29, where two narratives are amalgamated: a narrative about Jehu's coup against Jehoram of Israel and Ochozias of Judah, and a typical "report of coup d'état", preserved in 8:28-29* and 9:27-28*. The form in plural "Ramot" (רמת) is found in the narrative (9:1.4.14), whereas the singular form "Rama" (רמה) could correspond to the text of the report. 2 Chr 22:5-6 reproduces the text of MT in 2 Kgs 8:28-29.

The form "Ramah" (רמה) receives confirmation from the name of the place identified by H. Glueck as "Ramot (of Gilead)": *Tell Ramith*, 7 km south of *Ramtha* near the modern frontier between Syria and Jordan (59).

Concluding, in the kaige section γδ and, concretely, in the instances found in 1 Kgs 22 the pre-Lucianic and OG reading is not Ῥεμμώθ / Ῥαμώθ, but Ῥαμάθ (60):



(59) Nelson Glueck, "Ramoth-Gilead", *BASOR* 92 (1943) 10-12, esp. 11-12. Cf. Paul W. Lapp, "Tell Er-Rumeith", in *The New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (ed. Ephraim Stern; Jerusalem, 1993), Vol. IV, 1291-1293.

(60) In this way, Rahlfs' edition has to be corrected as well as the edition of the Antiochean text by Natalio Fernández Marcos and José Ramón Busto Saiz, *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega. II 1-2 Reyes* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1992).

– vv. 7-8: OL *unus est per quem interrogemus*. Rahlfs deals carefully with the MT version of עֹד אִישׁ אֶחָד לְדָרֶשׁ in the section treating the Lucianic readings that, against his usual opinion, he acknowledges as prelucianic (*vorlucianisch*) (61). The L reading ἔστιν ὁδε ἀνὴρ εἰς τοῦ ἐπερωτῆσαι preserves “in the last words” the original Greek text, since the reading εἰς τὸ ἐπερωτῆσαι of the rest of the Greek tradition is anomalous, whereas τοῦ ἐπερωτῆσαι represents the usual version of the Hebrew infinitive followed by ל. Given that LXX εἰς precedes τὸ ἐπερωτῆσαι in the same way that in MT אֶחָד precedes לְדָרֶשׁ, Rahlfs concludes that εἰς is a mistake for εἶς (אֶחָד). If so, the LXX reading in which εἶς precedes ἔστιν ἀνὴρ is secondary. Rahlfs comments in a footnote that he does not dare to decide how such a reading was formed (“Wie es entstanden ist wage ich nicht zu entscheiden”). According to Rahlfs the Antioquean text adds ὁδε that it takes from v. 7. On the other hand, L and B Aeth Sah omit ἔτι, present also in v. 7. This omission in v. 7 is “old”, since it affects the whole of LXX tradition. This omission is, as stated by Rahlfs, due to the intention of avoiding to put in the same level Michaias, the Yahweh’s prophet, and the 400 prophets “of Baal” previously consulted.

The order of the words εἶς ἔστιν seems to correspond to the OG, as attested by the OL *unus est per quem interrogemus*. OL contributes in this way to reconstruct the OG text. It omits both ὁδε and ἔτι, remaining only the more stable elements of the text in the order εἶς ἔστιν ἀνὴρ τοῦ ἐπερωτῆσαι. In the reconstruction of the OG text we should avoid the tendency to get carried away by the MT influence, since, following Lagarde’s principles, the more original reading is the one that is more far away from the MT. Rahlfs follows in his edition the unique reading of the Alexandrinus codex ἔτι ἔστιν ἀνὴρ εἰς τὸ ἐπερωτῆσαι, correcting only εἰς by εἶς, getting in this way a perfect match to MT עֹד אִישׁ אֶחָד לְדָרֶשׁ. But the OG reading is that which moves away from MT. It seems to be εἶς ἔστιν ἀνὴρ τοῦ ἐπερωτῆσαι.

B Aeth Sah	εἶς		ἔστιν		ἀνὴρ		εἰς	τὸ ἐπερωτῆσαι
A		ἔτι	ἔστιν		ἀνὴρ		εἰς	τὸ ἐπερωτῆσαι
L Arm			ἔστιν	ὁδε	ἀνὴρ	εἶς		τοῦ ἐπερωτῆσαι
N rell	ἔτι εἶς		ἔστιν		ἀνὴρ		εἰς	τοῦ ἐπερωτῆσαι
OL	<i>unus</i>		<i>est</i>					<i>per quem interrogemus</i>
OG?	εἶς		ἔστιν		ἀνὴρ			τοῦ ἐπερωτῆσαι

– v. 8: OL *Namali* supports the pre-Lucianic (OG) reading Ναμαλεί against Ιεμλα Β (Rahlfs). In the parallel passage 2 Chr 18:7 LXX^L reads also Ναμαλί. Rahlfs summarizes his discussion on the

(61) Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, 286.

onomastics of 1 Kgs 4:7-19 acknowledging that L preserves sometimes the OG better than B as in v. 9 Πηχαβ, 10 βηρβηθ, 11 αναδαβ, 18 Σαμα(α), as also in 1 Kgs 1 in the readings of L Ορνια (ארניה)—B Αδωνιας (MT אדניה); L Σαδδουκ (*saddûq*)—B Σαδωκ (MT *šaddôq*); L Ιωαδ (יהודע)—B Ιωδαε (MT יהודע); L Σελλαθ (זחלת)—B Ζωελεθ (MT תלחז); L Χορρι και Φελτι (כרי ופלתי)—B Χερεθη και Φαλεθι (MT כרתי ופלתי) (62).

– v. 10: OL *ad viam portae* and LXX^L ἐν ὁδῷ πύλης preserve the OG reading that corresponds to the usual Hebrew expression: דרך שער, 1 Sam 17:52; 2 Sam 15:2; 2 Kgs 11:19; 25:4. OL *unusquisque* translates ἕκαστος, the pre-Lucianic and OG version of the Hebrew איש, against the characteristic version of the kaige recension, ἀνὴρ.

5. From textual criticism to literary criticism

Textual variants often appear in the junctures between pericopes or at the initial and final points of an interpolation. Those are the weak points where the narrative line tends to develop variants and even to break apart so that the text becomes sometimes corrupt. The interpolation of 1 Kgs 22:17-19 by means of a repetition or *Wiederaufnahme* left textual traces at the initial and final points of the insertion.

In v. 19 the OL *Et dixit Micheas: Non est sic, sed audi verbum Domini!* omits οὐκ ἐγώ, marked with obelus in the SyroH and absent in MT. On the other hand the LXX text (καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαίας οὐχ οὕτως οὐκ ἐγώ ἄκουε ῥῆμα κυρίου· οὐχ οὕτως) has twice οὐχ οὕτως, the second instance marked with obelus in the SyroH and absent in MT as well. In this way, the repetition οὐχ οὕτως... οὐχ οὕτως is produced. Theodoret ignores the first instance of οὐχ οὕτως. These very same terms appear in v. 17, also after the expression καὶ εἶπεν (ויאמר). They translate sometimes the Hebrew לא כן and others לכן. In v. 19, it corresponds to MT לכן; in v. 17 οὐχ οὕτως has no correspondence in MT.

The OG version of לכן is not οὐχ οὕτως but διὰ τοῦτο. The version οὐχ οὕτως is the one of the kaige recension and corresponds to a Hebrew reading לא כן. An analysis of the correspondences between the Greek and Hebrew of Samuel-Kings (in kaige or no kaige sections) point to it clearly (63).

(62) Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, 183 and 235.

(63) Julio Treballe, "Redaction, Recension, and Midrash in the Books of Kings", *BIOCS* 15 (1982) 12-35, 28-29.

In this case, 1 Kgs 22:19, in order to reconstruct the OG text and its *Vorlage* it is necessary to take into account another series of data. The first one is the reading οὐκ ἐγὼ attested both by B and L, but absent in MT and, therefore, marked with obelus in SyroH and absent in the OL reading as well. The second important data is the relationship between the readings οὐχ οὕτως of vv. 17 and 19 in a context of repeated expressions. According to MT the king of Israel says to Michaias, son of Yimla: “(17) Then Micahiah said, ‘I saw all Israel scattered on the mountains, like sheep that have no shepherd; and the Lord said, “These have no master; let each one go home in peace.”’ (18) The king of Israel said to Jehoshaphat, ‘Did I not tell you that he would not prophesy anything favourable about me, but only disaster?’ (19) Then Micaiah said, ‘Therefore (לכן) hear the word of the Lord: I saw the Lord sitting on his throne...’” (NRSV).

OL	LXX ^{BL}	OG <i>Vorlage</i>	MT Kgs	2Chr 18:16
	17 καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαίας οὐχ οὕτως ἑώρακα πάντα τὸν Ἰσραὴλ	17 רֵאמֶר ל(א)כֵן רֵאִיתִי אֶת כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל	17 רֵאמֶר רֵאִיתִי אֶת כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל	16 רֵאמֶר אֶת־רֵאִיתִי כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל
19 Et dixit Micheas: <i>Non est sic, sed</i>	19 καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαίας οὐχ οὕτως οὐκ ἐγὼ ἄκουε ῥῆμα/τὸν λόγον K. οὐχ οὕτως εἶδον τὸν κύριον θεὸν	19 רֵאמֶר ל(א)כֵן שְׁמַע דְּבַר יְהוָה אֶת יְהוֹרֵאִיתִי	19 רֵאמֶר לֵכֵן שְׁמַע דְּבַר יְהוָה אֶת יְהוֹרֵאִיתִי	18 רֵאמֶר לֵכֵן שְׁמַעוּ דְּבַר יְהוָה אֶת יְהוֹרֵאִיתִי

In v. 19 the MT correspondence לכן = οὐχ οὕτως (לא כן) appears repeated two times in the Greek text (vv. 17 y 19) (64). These

(64) “In attempting to improve a somewhat ambiguous Heb. Text, LXX translates לכן as in vs. 17 (23), interjecting ουχ εγω (Heb. לא אני?) before, and a second ουχ ουτως following, “hear the word of Y.”. Unless it reflects corruption in its *Vorlage*, LXX must be understood as a frenetic effort to depict Micahiah’s protest of innocence: “Not so! Not I! Hear the word of Yahweh” Not so! I saw...” (24). This is in line with the omission of עַד in 7-8. LXX’s interpretive tendency is further revealed in its substitution of θεον Ἰσραηλ for an undoubtedly original יהוה. Likewise interpretive are Chron.’s שְׁמַעוּ for שְׁמַע and עֲמַדִּים for עֲמַד”, De Vries, *Prophet Against Prophet*, 15-16.

repetitions added to those of the verbs וַיֵּאמֶר and רִאִיתִי enclose an interpolation formed by the vv. 17-18. Several authors have noted that the two visions and oracles of Michaias constitute two different units: in the first oracle, vv. 17(18), he compares Israel with a herd without shepherd; in the second one, staged in the divine court, YHWH allows a spirit of lies to deceive Ahab's prophets (vv. 19-22[23]) (65). The comparative analysis of the Hebrew and Greek texts contributes to define with exactitude the points of insertions of the interpolated text. The repetition (*Wiederaufnahme*) of the words καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαίας οὐχ οὕτως ἐώρακα... (19) καὶ εἶπεν Μιχαίας οὐχ οὕτως εἶδον defines the limits of the insertion in vv. 17-18: "I saw all Israel scattered on the mountains like sheep that have no shepherd (66); and the Lord said, 'These have no master; let each one go home in peace.' The king of Israel said to Jehoshaphat, 'Did I not tell you that he would not prophesy anything favourable about me, but only disaster?'"'. The repetition is clearer and surely older in MT which in v. 19 reads לֹכֵן instead of לֹא כֵן. Therefore both verses would contain the reading לֹכֵן (δὴ τοῦτο). The form לֹכֵן is the usual in the oracles of rebuke or condemnation, whereas לֹא כֵן rather seems to be an interpretation, defined as "targumic" by L. Prijs (67).

(65) Hans-Christoph Schmitt, *Elisa. Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur vorklassischen nordisraelitischen Prophetie* (Gütersloh: Mohn 1972), 42-45; Ernst Würthwein, "Zur Komposition von I Reg 22,1-38", in *Das ferne und nahe Wort, Festschrift L. Rost* (ed. Fritz Maass; Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1967), 245-254; id., *Die Bücher der Könige. 1 Kön. 12 – 2.Kön. 25 Könige*, 254 and 258-262; Alexander Rofé, *The Prophetic Stories. The Narratives About the Prophets in the Hebrew Bible. Their Literary Types and History* (Jerusalem, 1982) 122; Harald Schweizer, H., "Literarkritischer Versuch zur Erzählung von Micha ben Jimla (1 Kön 22)", *BA* 23 (1979) 1-19. According to O.H. Steck, "...1 Kön 22, 1-38, abgesehen von den Kontextverklammerungen zwei Schichten in sich schliesst, die sich vorläufig so bestimmen lassen: A mit V. 3.6.9.11.13-15aα17.24-28a.*29.34-35aβ.*36-37; B mit V. 2b.4.5.7-8.10.12.*15.16.18-23", Odil Hannes Steck, "Bewahrheiten des Prophetenworts. Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Skizze zu 1. Könige 22, 1-38", in "Wenn nicht jetzt, wann denn?" (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1983), 92.

(66) The expression "like sheep that have no shepherd" (כִּצְאֹן אֲשֶׁר אֵין לָהֶם רֹעֶה) is found in a text considered to be late, Num 27:17, Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 139.

(67) According to L. Prijs, LXX would have made a "targumic" interpretation of the *al tigre* sort, dividing the word in two elements and translating them as two words, Leo Prijs, *Jüdische Tradition in der Septuaginta* (Leiden, 1948), 59-61. Driver defines as "strange" the way of translating לֹכֵן as if it was a contracted form of לֹא כֵן, Samuel R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (second edition; Oxford, 1913) 44.

**6. Yahweh's Spirit of Deceit: "I will entice him"—"With whom?"—
"With you" (1 Kgs 22:20)**

In 22:20 the B text has "(Who will entice Ahab), so that he may go up and fall at Ramath-Gilead?" (καὶ ἀναβήσεται καὶ πεσεῖται ἐν Ῥεμμαθ Γαλααδ). The Antiochean text presents a different construction of the clause: "so that he may go up to Ramath-Gilead and fall there" (καὶ ἀναβήσεται εἰς Ῥαμὰθ Γαλααδ καὶ πεσεῖται ἐκεῖ). The expression "go up to", ἀναβαίνειν εἰς, is usual in allusions to Ramah/Ramoth in vv. 12 (עלה רמת) and 29 (ויעל רמת). The B reading ἐν (Ῥεμμαθ) depends on the previous verb καὶ πεσεῖται and reflects exactly MT ויעל ויפל ברמת גלעד (ἐν = ב). In v. 4 MT has הלך... רמת (with the verb הלך), "Will you go... at Ramoth-Gilead?"; LXX ἀναβήσῃ εἰς preserves here the usual expression with עלה ("go up to"). In the same way in v. 15 the usual expression ἀναβῶ εἰς reflects the Hebrew אעלה, whereas MT הגלך אל ("shall we go to Ramoth?") uses again the verb הלך (68). LXX implies in every case the usual construction: עלה without preposition. The L reading ἐκεῖ in v. 20 reflects the Hebrew שם after the verb καὶ πεσεῖται = ויפל.

The L reading in 22:20 καὶ εἶπεν Οὐ δυνήσῃ, καὶ εἶπεν Ἐν σοί (19 93 108 127 158; ms 82 has καὶ εἶπεν Οὐ δυνήσῃ, καὶ εἶπεν Ἐν σοί en lugar de καὶ οὗτος οὕτως) is qualified by Rahlfs as "a rare case... an exception" (69). According to L. De Vries this "addition" of L as well as the L reading in v. 22 καὶ ἀπατήσω αὐτόν. καὶ εἶπεν Δυνήσῃ are "corrupt" (70).

Rahlfs includes the L reading καὶ εἶπεν Οὐ δυνήσῃ, καὶ εἶπεν Ἐν σοί in the category of "prelucianic material of L" ("Vorlucianisches Gut in L"). According to Rahlfs the L reading is another version of the same MT translated in B as καὶ εἶπεν οὗτος οὕτως καὶ οὗτος οὕτως = ויאמר זה בכה וזה אמר בכה. L καὶ εἶπεν Ἐν σοί translates MT בכה אמר בכה reading בכה (*b^ekāh*) instead of בכה (*b^ekōh*). In the chapter on "Origen's quotations in the books of Kings" of his *Studien zu den Königsbüchern* Rahlfs compares the L reading with Origen's prehexaplaric reading καὶ εἶπεν οὗτος Ἐν σοί which reproduces the Hebrew *b^ekāh* in the place of *b^ekōh*. As asserted by Rahlfs, the enlarged text of L results in an arduous meaning of the

(68) In 22:4 and 15 ἀναβαίνειν translates עלה and not הלך as stated in the Index by Natalio Fernández Marcos,—Maria Victoria Spottorno Díaz-Caro,—José Manuel Cañas Reillo, *Índice griego-hebreo del texto antioqueno en los libros históricos, Volumen I: Índice general* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005), 28.

(69) Rahlfs, *Studien zu den Königsbüchern*, 80.

(70) De Vries, *Prophet Against Prophet*, 12.

narrative: Yahveh asks the host of heaven who will entice Ahab, so that he may go up at Ramath-Gilead and fall there. Then “one said one thing, and another said another”, until Yahveh says: “You will not be able” (καὶ εἶπεν Οὐ δυνήσῃ), identifying in the following clause καὶ εἶπεν Ἐν σοί who (“with you”) is the spirit who will entice Ahab. This spirit comes forward and explains his plan before God who sends him by saying: “You will be able” (καὶ εἶπεν Δυνήσῃ). In Rahlfs’s opinion, although this meaning is not completely bad, its formulation is so unlucky that becomes almost incomprehensible, betraying therefore its secondary character (71).

In MT the question “How?” or “By what means?” remains unanswered, although the replay by the spirit “I will go out and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets” is generally taken as the expected answer. In LXX (B and L) the question of Yahveh is not as in MT “How?” (במה) but “With whom?” (ἐν τίνι; = במי). In this way the L text preserves the text of the direct answer: “‘With whom?’ He said ‘With you’” (καὶ εἶπεν Ἐν σοί = וימאר בכה). This is the “right place” or original location of the L reading.

My first thought was to read afterwards the clause “And (the Lord) said: “You will not succeed” (καὶ εἶπεν Οὐ δυνήσῃ = ויאמר לא תוכל), reversing the order of the L text καὶ εἶπεν Οὐ δυνήσῃ, καὶ εἶπεν Ἐν σοί and giving preference to the location of the answer “With you?” after the question “With whom”. Reading the text in this order, Yahveh denies that the spirit will succeed (Οὐ δυνήσῃ) and the spirit intends therefore to explain how he would be able: “I will go out and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets”. Finally Yahveh acknowledges: “You will succeed” (καὶ εἶπεν Δυνήσῃ = ויאמר תוכל).

Jan Joosten has advanced a different proposal more suitable to the context (72). The reading καὶ εἶπεν Οὐ δυνήσῃ is to be kept at the end of v. 20 and only καὶ εἶπεν Ἐν σοί is relocated after ἐν τίνι; (v. 21). In this way Yahveh asks the host of heaven who will entice Ahab and “one said one thing, and another said another”. Yahveh

(71) Rahlfs, *Studien zu den Königsbüchern*, 81.

(72) I thank Jan Joosten for this proposal that he advanced in the “Seminar on Textual History and Textual Criticism of the Books of Kings”, held in the Department of Hebrew and Aramaic Studies of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid (24-25 October 2012) on the occasion of the “Fifth Centenary Alfonso de Zamora”. In the year 1512 Alfonso de Zamora moved from Salamanca to Alcalá as the first Professor of Hebrew in the Complutensian University. Other participants in this Seminar were Steven McKenzie (Rhodes College, Memphis, USA), Jean Koulagna (Strasbourg University), Pablo Torijano, Andrés Piquer and Julio Trebolle (Universidad Complutense de Madrid).

denies that one and another will be able to succeed (καὶ εἶπεν Οὐ δυνήσῃ). Then a spirit comes forward and staying before Yahweh says: "I will entice him (Ahab)". God asks "With whom?" and the spirit answers "With you", explaining thereafter his plan of been a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. Finally Yahweh sends the spirit of deceit saying: "You will succeed".

In conclusion, the Antiochean text preserves here the OG καὶ εἶπεν Οὐ δυνήσῃ. καὶ εἶπεν Ἐν σοί. The second clause καὶ εἶπεν Ἐν σοί is to be relocated after ἐν τίνι; (v. 21). This question, "With/by whom?", is also found in the twin story of chapter 20 that deals with a consult by a prophet on behalf of the king of Israel at war against the Arameans (1 Kgs 22:13-15):

"Then a prophet came up to King Ahab of Israel and said, 'Thus says the Lord, Have you seen all this great multitude? Look, I will give it into your hand today; and you shall know that I am the Lord.' Ahab said, 'By whom?' He said: 'Thus says the Lord, By the servants of the governors of the districts.' Then he said, 'Who shall begin the battle?' He answered, 'You'".

MT has in 20:14 במי in contrast to במה in 22:20. OG ἐν τίνι; in both cases attests a Hebrew במי also in both verses. The Antiochean text attests an OG that allows a reconstruction of its Hebrew *Vorlage* as follows:

<i>Vorlage</i> OG	L (OG)	B (kaige)	MT
20 ויאמר	20 καὶ εἶπεν	20 καὶ εἶπεν	20 ויאמר
מי יפתה	Τίς ἀπατήσῃ	κύριος	יהוה
את אחאב	τὸν Ἀχασβ	τίς ἀπατήσῃ	מי יפתה
יעל	βασιλέα Ἰσραήλ	τὸν Ἀχασβ	את אחאב
רמה גלעד	καὶ ἀναβήσεται	βασιλέα Ἰσραηλ	יעל
יפל	εἰς Ῥαμὰθ Γαλαὰδ	καὶ ἀναβήσεται	יפל
שם	καὶ πεσεῖται	καὶ πεσεῖται	ברמת גלעד
ויאמר	ἐκεῖ;	ἐν Ρεμμαθ Γαλααδ	ויאמר
זה ככה	καὶ εἶπεν	καὶ εἶπεν	זה ככה
זה (73) ככה	καὶ οὗτος οὕτως	οὗτος οὕτως	זה אמר ככה
ויאמר	καὶ οὗτος > οὕτως	καὶ οὗτος > οὕτως	
לא תוכל	καὶ εἶπεν		
21 ויצא	Οὐ δυνήσῃ	21 καὶ ἐξῆλθεν	21 ויצא
הרוח	21 καὶ ἐξῆλθε	πνεῦμα	הרוח
יעמד	πνεῦμα	καὶ ἔστη	יעמד
לפני יהוה	καὶ ἔστη	ἐνώπιον κυρίου	לפני יהוה
	ἐνώπιον Κυρίου		

Vorlage OG	L (OG)	B (kaige)	MT
יאמר אני אפתנו יאמר יהוה אליו במי ימאר בכה 22 יאמר אצא והייתי רוח שקר בפי כל נביאיו ואפתנו יאמר תוכל צא ועשה כן	κ. εἶπεν Ἐγὼ ἀπατήσω αὐτ. καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν Κύριος Ἐν τίνι; καὶ εἶπεν Ἐν σοί 22 καὶ εἶπεν ἐξελεύσομαι καὶ ἔσομαι πνεῦμα ψευδὲς ἐν στόματι πάντων αὐτοῦ τῶν προφητῶν τούτων καὶ ἀπατήσω αὐτόν καὶ εἶπεν Δυνήσῃ ἐξελθε καὶ ποιήσον οὕτως	καὶ εἶπεν ἐγὼ ἀπατήσω αὐτόν καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν κύριος ἐν τίνι 22 καὶ εἶπεν ἐξελεύσομαι καὶ ἔσομαι πνεῦμα ψευδὲς ἐν στόματι πάντων τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν ἀπατήσεις καὶ γε δυνήσῃ ἐξελθε καὶ ποιήσον οὕτως	יאמר אני אפתנו יאמר יהוה אליו במה 22 יאמר אצא והייתי רוח שקר בפי כל נביאיו יאמר תפתה וגם תוכל צא ועשה כן

The OG text offers new data for the description of “an adversary in heaven” as portrayed in other biblical passages (Num 22:22-35; Job 1-2; Zech 3 and 1 Chr 21:1-22:1) (74) and for the discussion of later developments about the doctrine of “the two powers in heaven” (75).

(74) Peggy L. Day, *An Adversary in Heaven. Sātān in the Hebrew Bible* (Atlanta GA: Scholars Press, 1988). Cf. Esther J. Hamori, “The Spirit of Falsehood”, *CBQ* 72 (2010) 15-30; Cristiano Grottanelli, “On Written Lies”, in *Homer, the Bible and Beyond* (ed. Finkelberg Margalit, Leiden: Brill, 2003), 53-62; Erhard Blum, “Die Lüge des Propheten: ein Lesevorschlag zu einer befremdlichen Geschichte (I Reg 13), in *Mincha: Festgabe für Rolf Rendtorff zum 75. Geburtstag* (ed. Erhard Blum, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2000), 27-46; Dapila N. Fabian, “Prophetic Fulfilment: An Examination of ‘True’ and ‘False’ Prophecy in the Deuteronomistic”, *Old Testament Essays, New Series* 13 (2000) 9-26; Evangelia G. Dafni, “רוח שקר und falsche Prophetie in I Reg 22”, *ZAW* 112 (2000) 365-385; Richard Freund, “Lying and Deception in the Biblical and Post-Biblical Judaic Tradition”, *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* (SJOT) 5 (1991) 45-61; Volkmar Hirth, “‘Der Geist’ in I Reg 22”, *ZAW* 101 (1989) 113-114; Carole Fontaine, “The Deceptive Goddess in Ancient Near Eastern Myth: Inanna and Inaras”, in *Reasoning with the Foxes Female Wit in a World of Male Power* (*Semeia* 42; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1988), 84-102; Jimmy Jack McBee Roberts, “Does God Lie? Divine Deceit as a Theological Problem in Israelite Prophetic Literature”, in *Congress Volume—Jerusalem 1986* (ed. John A. Emerton; Leiden: Brill, 1988), 211-220; Martin A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach den Alten Testament: Ihr Begriff, ihre Bedeutung und ihre Beurteilung* (Zürich: Gotthelf Verlag, 1964).

(75) Alan Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports About Christianity and Gnosticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1977); Boyarin, D., “Two Powers in Heaven; or, the Making of a Heresy”, in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation. Essays in Honor*

Even though the contribution of this striking reading of the Antioquean text in 1 Kgs 22:20 is important, it is much more important, however, the path that leads towards the re-assessment of the textual witness of the Antioquean text, the old versions and, generally speaking, of several phenomena that have been defined as late and, therefore, discarded without further thought. The role of the textual critic has been understood mainly as that of further fixing a text fixed from old: the consonantal text established around the end of the 1st century ACE accompanied by an oral tradition of vocalization quite established as well (76). After Qumran the role of the textual critic, particularly if working with the historical books, is to explain the plurality rather than the uniformity of the biblical text, the process of diversification rather than the fixed picture of a supposed canonical text. In order to explain the plurality we have to start from the most recent phenomena, such as the masoretic divisions and additions or transposition in the versions and recensions of the LXX or in the MT. These may offer a clue to discern phenomena occurred in the process of edition at a time when the sequence of literary units in a given book was not yet fixed.

It is a pleasure to contribute this essay to the *Festschrift* volume honoring Émile Puech, an appreciated colleague and a dear friend since more than forty year ago, a man always willing to share his unequalled expertise in the reading of the Qumran scrolls.

Julio TREBOLLE

of James L. Kugel (eds. Hindy Najman and Judith H. Newman, Leiden: Brill, 2004), 332-370. Cf. Robert Goldenberg, "The Problem of False Prophecy: Talmudic Interpretations of Jeremiah 28 and 1 Kings 22", in *The Biblical Mosaic: Changing Perspectives* (eds. Robert Polzin and Eugene Rotham; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 87-103.

(76) Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 101.

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22,19	377	10,28-30	278
27,22	297	10,33	294
28,9	28; 406	13,1-2	278
28,10	377	13,1-3	293
28,12	469	13,4-9	293
29,6	297	13,15-19	329
29,9	406	13,23-28	282; 293
		13,23-31	278
<i>2 Chroniques</i>			
4,17	468	<i>Tobie</i>	
4,17-17	145	<i>Ensemble</i>	92; 143; 147
6,1-2	655	3,16	382
9	653	5,4	382
18,7	667	7,9	382
18,19	673	8,2-8	195
18,31	662	12,15	382
22,5-6	666		
25,19	414	<i>Judith</i>	
30,25	275	<i>Ensemble</i>	92
<i>Esdras</i>		15,14	413
<i>Ensemble</i>	143; 149; 327		
2	300	<i>Esther</i>	
2,2-58	278	<i>Ensemble</i>	92; 143
2,58	302	1,20	417
2,59-60	281	4,1	595
2,59-63	278	6,6	419

8,6	594	30,14	418
9,20-32	92	32,6	60ss
		34,15	6
<i>1 Maccabées</i>		34,16	482
<i>Ensemble</i>	92ss; 328; 333	35	482
1,36-37.39	377	35,10	436
3,55	303	37,10	423
7,5	157	37,28-30	470
7,17	430	38,3	406
9,54	284	40,1-5	483
14,36-17	285	40-48	483
		45,13	432
<i>2 Maccabées</i>		48,4	420
<i>Ensemble</i>	92ss; 327	51,11	436
14,3	157	52,2	598
15,36	92	52,7-10	483
		54,6	407
<i>Cantique des Cantiques</i>		55	5
1,7	409	55,11-56,1	145
3,1.2.3.4	409	56	5
5,3	594	56,3	273
7	3	56,3-7	278ss
		56,7	273
<i>Sagesse</i>		57,1-2	416
<i>Ensemble</i>	92	58,5	409
11,6-7	174	58,13	41-62
16,20	412	58,13	55
18,5	174	59	631s
		59,2-7	5
<i>Isaïe</i>		59,3	631
<i>Ensemble</i>	428; 483; 492	59,4	12
2,22	182	59,5	3-16
3,16	53	59,5-6	632
5,23	593	59,7	631
6	452; 454	59,7-8	15
7,17	14	59,14-15a	15
8,1-8	482	61,10	238
8,11	249	65,17	595
8, 13	411	66,23	48
10,10	594		
11,11-12	27		
14,1	280	<i>Jérémie</i>	
14,11	630	<i>Ensemble</i>	427
14,13-14	361	3,16	595
24,17	534	5,1	657
26,11	413	5,27	601
26,19	27	7,6	274
26,20	28	8,3	14
28,16	435	10,11	150
30,6	6	10,12-13	657
30,8	482	10,16	330

10,23	657	4,2	407
17,16	420	4,8	600
17,21	329		
18,18	657	<i>Ézéchiél</i>	
20,13	657	<i>Ensemble</i>	427
22,3	274	1	452ss; 457; 463ss
23,5-6	657	1,5	456
23,14-17	657	1,13	455
25,15-38	657	1,22	456
30,2.36	482	2,8-3,3	482
31,5	657	3,7-9	420
32,4	169	3,14	196
33,14-26	657	8,3	453
33,17	657	8,10	196
37,21	476	11,1	297
38,2	657	12,12	297
39,1-2	657	14,3-4.7	420
43,12-13	174	14,6-7	274
44,1-30	657	14,21	171
45,1-5	657	16,26-28	658
46,1-28	657	16,41	174
46,2-12	657	20,40	475
46,10	173	22,7	274
46,13	593	22,27	297; 601
46,13-28	657	22,29	274; 302
47,1-7	657	25	289
47,4-7	173	25,8	173
48	173	25,11	169ss
48,1-47	657	25,12	173
49,1-6	657	25,14	169; 173
49,7-22	657	25,15	172
49,23-27	657	25,17	169ss; 172
49,28-33	657	26,4	591
49,34-39	657	29-32	38
50,1-51,58	657	29,5	416
50,15	173	30,1-19	173
50,28	173	30,3-5	23
51,19	330	30,14-19	173
51,59-64	482; 657	30,19	312
52	21	31,3-16	173
		33,22	196
<i>Baruch</i>		36,37-38	658
<i>Ensemble</i>	92	37	21; 27
		37,1-14	658
<i>Épître de Jérémie</i>		37,12	28
<i>Ensemble</i>	92; 143	37,15-28	658
		37,20-28	38
<i>Lamentations</i>		37-43	27
<i>Ensemble</i>	428	38,22	23
2,19	420	39	27
3,41	414		

40-48	27; 434; 489	3,12-15	482
44,6-9	278ss	5,6	418
44,7-9	262	5,26-17	553
44,9	293	8,1-2	476
44,15	534		
45,2-3	377	<i>Jonas</i>	
47,21-23	274; 295	1,6	60
47,22	298	1,7	145
48,8	475	3,3.4	597
48,21	377		
<i>Daniel</i>		<i>Michée</i>	
<i>Ensemble</i>	30; 33; 38; 149; 333; 427; 490	1,5	431
1,10	599	7,12	13ss
2,7	129	<i>Nahum</i>	
2,19-23.28	330	<i>Ensemble</i>	483
2,20	150	1,1a	483
3,16	417	1,2	266
3,29	319	1,2b.3a.9-10	483
4	372	1,2-8	483
4,1	144; 153	1,3b-6	495
4,10-20	180	1,11.14	483
4,14	417	1,12-13	483
5,7.11	417	2,1	483
6,4	60	2,2	483
6,11	125; 417	2,3.4.6	483
6,18	145; 151	2,4-11	483
7	115	2,9b.10	483
7,9-10	451-466	2,12b	495
7,16	124; 131	2,12-14	429; 483
9	33	2,13a	496
9,15	413	2,14	496
9,17	410	3,2-3.7a	483
10,10	196	3,3.15a.16b	483
10,13	94	3,4	272ss
10,12	599	3,5-7a	483
11	93	3,8	483
12	93	3,8-10	23
<i>Osée</i>		3,8-11.12-15a.15b-17.18-19	483
<i>Ensemble</i>	483	3,9a	498
3,4	534	3,16a.17a	483
3,5	411	<i>Habacuc</i>	
5,8-6,6	482	2,1-10	549
<i>Joël</i>		2,9	601
4,1	419	2,17	431
<i>Amos</i>		3,5	53
<i>Ensemble</i>	483	<i>Sophonie</i>	
1,14	377	2,9	173
		3,4	415

Zacharie

3	674
3,7	598
7,10	274

Malachie

1,4	597
1,10	534
2, 14	410
2, 16	411
3,5	274
3,12	145

Job

1-2	674
1,4	476
3,5	595
4,7-8	194
5,2	420
5,6-7	194
9,11.26	599
9,31	410
11,10	599
11,15	602
12,11	593
13,4	594
13,18-27	145
14,1	591
14,13-18	145
15,4	417
15,14	591
15,16-17	145
15,24	94
18,8	53
19,17	7
19,19	410
20,16	6
21,28	602
25,4	591
28,21	595
31,7	598
33,4	182
33,25	145
34,14	182
36,3	13
36,29-37,2	145
38,32	13
38,40	419
39,14-15	7
40,18	631

Psaumes

Ensemble

1	220
1,1	419
4,6	413
5, 7	410
19,6	238
19,13	320
31,17	410
36,37-38	414
41,3	600
51,21	413
52,7	591
56,14	53
66,7	598
67,2	410
68,17	453
75,81	299
76,3	424
78,25	412
80,4.8.20	410
91	144
94,6	274
105,8-9	166
105,23	299
105,42-43	166
106,22	299
106,34-43	300
115,7	53
119,59	53
119,66	593
119,97.99	417
119,135	410
122	144; 425
124,4	418
125,3	599
130,7	145
136,20-24	145
146,9	274
149,7	170
149,7-9	169
151	144

Psaumes de Salomon

Ensemble

17,28	285; 300
17,34	285
17,36	285

Proverbes

1-9	631s
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1,8	417	8,1	410
1,10-15	419	8,6	58
1,15	53	8,11	417
1,16	631	9,12	601
1,19	601	12,12	419
2,19	627 ^{ss}	12,13-14	330
2,22	591		
3,17	631	<i>Ecclésiastique (Ben Sira)</i>	
3,18	600	<i>Ensemble</i>	71; 92; 143; 328;
3,23	53		333; 575-603
5,4	421	Prologue	93; 327
6,20	417	3,20-23	330
6,26	476	3,26	414
6,27	418	4,7	409
6,28	53	4,30	415
4,27	52	5,8	417
7,9	629	5,11	417
7,13	420	6,29-30	631
9,7	602	6,35	417
11,2.5-7.10-11.12	146	7,12	415
14,2	629	7,14	420
14,13	421	7,18-8,18	395-422
14,22	415	9,3	420
14,35	408; 592	9,10	417
15,3	598	9,14-15	420
15,17	601	10,12-12,1	575-603
17,2	408; 592	10,26	58
17,15	593	10,31	419
18,13	597	11,8	417
19,8	409	11,11	414
21,9	410	11,21	58
21,29	420	11,25-27	414
22,24	420	11,33	415
23,32	421	12,5.12	415
25,22	418	12,13.14	410
25,24	410	13,1.2.16.17	410
26,10	408	13,26	410
27,1	599	16,3	414
29,21	421	16,10	416
30,23	411	16,23	420
31,13	58	16,24	417
		17,17	330
<i>Ecclésiaste (Qohelet)</i>		19,2	415
3,1	58	23,5	415
3,17	58	26,16	410
4,17	53	26,20-21	184
5,7	58	29,15	408
6,9	598	30,12	409; 415
7,11	420	31,2	409
7,16	592	31,7	420

31,12-31	333	42,3	410
31,22	417	42,8	420
32,11	414	42,10	415
32,14	417	42,12	420
32,18	417	43,27	266
33,10	28	44,1-2,3	330
35,11	410	44,15	416
35,17	417	45,18	420
37,2	409	45,20	412ss
37,26	410	47,22	417
38,16	416	51,2	414
40,28	416	51,13	144ss
41,17	415		

NOUVEAU TESTAMENT

<i>Matthieu</i>		<i>Actes</i>	
1,3-5	425	7,23	165
2,23	328	7,30	165
8,14-17	195	15	332
10,1-8	195	23,8	438
12,22	195		
24,22	28	<i>Romains</i>	
		3,15	15
<i>Marc</i>			
1,21-34	195	<i>1 Corinthiens</i>	
3,13-19	195	<i>Ensemble</i>	513
3,20-22	195	15,42-57	438
6,7-13	195		
9,14-29	195	<i>Galates</i>	
5,23	194	2	332
13,19-20	28		
<i>Luc</i>		<i>Hébreux</i>	
3,31-33	425	11,11	186
4,31-41	195		
9,1-2	195	<i>Apocalypse</i>	
11,14	195	3,12	385
		14,1	385
		17,5	384
<i>Jean</i>		19,16	385
1,14	515	21-22	437
3,23	424		
5,10	329		

RÉFÉRENCES AUX TEXTES DE QUMRAN (1)

1QIsa^a		1Q20	
<i>Ensemble</i>	51, 55, 60, 144ss	(1QapGen <i>Apocryphe de la Genèse</i>)	
37,28	470	<i>Ensemble</i>	71, 113-125, 140, 147, 151ss, 156, 177-198; 307-326; 328; 528; 539ss;
37,30	470		556
1QIsa^b			0,2 310
<i>Ensemble</i>	51, 55, 145		0,5 310
1Q6 (<i>1QJud</i>)			0,10 314
<i>Ensemble</i>	144		0,13 314
1Q14			0-V 540
<i>Ensemble</i>	429		I,1 122
8-10+20 3-7	431		I,1-2 123
8-10 + 20 5-9	96		I,1-13 182
1QpHab (<i>1Qpesher Habacuc</i>)			I,12 122; 315
<i>Ensemble</i>	95; 429		I,24 122; 315
I,16-2,1a	291		I,26 193; 315
III,17-4,1a	291		II 123
IV,1,3	595		II,1 182
IV,16-V,2	291		II,1-3 122
VII,1-5	549		II,1-18 177-198
VIII,8-9	34		II,2 182
IX,4-6	269		II,4 315
XI,17-12,1	291		II,4-5 189
XII,6-10	431		II,5 124; 315
			II,6 315
			II,7 124

(1) La classification des textes qumrâniens suit l'ordre établi dans la « List of the Manuscripts from Qumran » dans F García Martínez *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated The Qumran Texts in English Second Edition* Brill/Eerdmans, Leiden/Grand Rapids 1994.

II,8	154	VII,19	316; 321
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II,10	124, 182	VIII,16	317
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II,13	189	VIII,19	317
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II,19	189	X,8	317
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II,20	131	X,14	309
II,20-21	189ss	XI,1	311
II,22	189	XI,12	317
II,23	309	XI,15	311
II,24-26	189	XI,16	310
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III,12	315	XII,18	318
III,31	315	XII,22	318
V,9	124; 189	XIII,11	318
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V,11	190; 315	XIII,14	318
V,12-13	190	XIII,15	311
V,16	309	XIII,16	311; 318
V,17-19	190	XIV,9	318
V,21	190	XIV,10	318
V,25	190	XIV,11	318
V,27	309; 325	XIV,12	319
V,29	190; 541	XIV,14	319
VI,1	190; 310; 315ss	XIV,15	319
VI,2	124; 309	XIV,18	319
VI,3	309; 316	XIV,19	311; 320
VI,6	309	XIV,20	320
VI,11	323	XIV,22	320
VI,13	310	XV,8	311; 320
VI,14	310; 316	XV,9	320
VI,15	310	XV,12	320
VI,17	316	XV,13	311
VI,18	317	XV,16	320
VI,19	316	XV,17	320
VI,21	316	XV,19	321
VI,24	316	XV,21	321
VI-XVIII	540	XV,22	321ss
VII,1	310	XV,23	322
VII,3	316	XVI,9	322
VII,11	316	XVI-XVII	179
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VII,17	316	XVII,9	322

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XIX,19	311	XXII,15	314
XIX,20	323	XXII,16	314
XIX,22	324	XXII,20	314
XIX,24	310	XXII,24	314
XIX,25	541	XXII,27	417
XIX,26	324	XXII,29	314
XIX,29	324		
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XX,2	324	<i>Ensemble</i>	528; 545
XX,3	311; 324	11,1	151
XX,4	323		
XX,6	311	1Q23	
XX,7	311; 325	<i>Ensemble</i>	113
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XX,14	194; 312	<i>Ensemble</i>	90; 96; 141; 156; 218; 287; 329; 351; 360; 431; 492; 605-620
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IV,25-26	302
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V,8	533
V,9	213
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V,11-12	330
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V,15	272
V,23	270
V,26	498
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VI,10	597
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VI,26	270
VII,5	200
VII,6-8a	200
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VII,11	203; 206
VII,12	207
VII,12-14	206
VII,14	598
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VII,17	211
VII,17-18	207
VII,18	209
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VII,24	272
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VIII,11	554
VIII,11-12	553
VIII,13	250
VIII,15	213; 533; 555
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VIII,26	213
IX,12-16	407
IX,14-15	270
IX,18	270
IX,20-21	251
X,18	498
XI,3-4	330
XI,13	414
XI,21	591
XIII,1b-4a	303
XIII,5b-7a	303

1Q28a*(IQSa IQRègle de la Congrégation)*

<i>Ensemble</i>	96; 156; 211; 215; 211; 215; 218; 221; 257- 305; 330; 352;
	435

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I,4	296ss
I,6	297
I,7	534
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I,13b-14a	298
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I,20	298
I,21	299
I,22-23	296
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I,24	296
I,25	298
I,25b-2,3a	295; 297
I,26	299
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I,29	296; 298
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II,3-9	265

1Q28b*(IQSb Recueil des Bénédictiones)*

<i>Ensemble</i>	96
IV, 27	410

1QM (Règle de la Guerre)

<i>Ensemble</i>	257-305
I,1	289; 299

I,1-2	299	IV,17	599
I,3-4	299; 436	V,31	591
I,4	289; 299	VII,5	657
I,5	299	VII,25	657
I,6	299	VII,32	171
I,9-10	299	VII,34	657
I,13	299	X,17.34	429
I,16	299	X,29-30	3-16
II,5-6	300	XI, 4	410
II,7	300	XI, 8	16
II,10-12	299	XI, 9	16
II,12-14	289	XI, 10	16
II,13	299	XI, 11	16
II,14	299	XI, 12	16
III,9	299; 414	XI,13	10, 16
III,10-11	436	XI, 18-19	16
III,14	300	XI,18	10
IV,12	299	XI,19	10, 16
V,1-2	300	XI,19-20	414
V,5	167	XI,23	271
V,8	167	XI,26-28	271
VI,6	299	XII, 6	410
VII,3-6	265	XII, 28	410
IX,5-6	299	XIII,8	414
X,9.14-15	330	XIV,7-20	173
X,13	590	XIV,10-11	416
XI,1	299	XIV,15-17	271
XI,8-9	300	XIV,37	271
XI,11	299	XVI,29-30	414
XI,13	299	XIX,14-15	271
XI,15	299	XXI,2	591
XI,16	299	XXIII,13-14	591
XII,3	299		
XII,12-16	299	2Q2 (2QExod ^a)	
XIII,1	296	5,9	144
XIII,16	299		
XIV,1	174	2Q3 (2QExod ^b)	
XIV,5	299	5	144
XV,1	299		
XV,2-3	299	2Q14	
XVI,1	299	Ensemble	89
XVII,1	299		
XVII,7-8	299	2Q24	
XVIII,2	299	4,16	319
XVIII,11-12	299		
XIX,4-8	299	2Q25	
XIX,10	299	1,3	533
1QH^a (1QHodayot 1QHymnes)			
Ensemble	89, 140, 143, 145 ; 556	2Q26	
		Ensemble	113

3Q5		27	109
1 3	417	33	111
		33,5	105
3Q12		33,6	111
1,2	152	33,9	111
		33-35	106
4Q1 (<i>4QGen-Exod^a</i>)		34,2-6	105
Ensemble	103-111, 144	34-35	111
7	108	36	106
7a	103-111	40	111
8,1-7	108		
9	107	4Q9 (<i>4QGenⁱ</i>)	
9,1-3	107	6	144
9,4	110		
9,5	110	4Q11 (<i>4QpaleoGen-Exod^l</i>)	
9,7	105	1	106
9,9-10	105		
9,10	107, 110	4Q22 (<i>4QpaleoExod^m</i>)	
9,11	110	Ensemble	530
9,12	107		
9,13	107	4Q23 (<i>4QLev-Num^a</i>)	
10,1	105	Ensemble	106
17,5	111		
17,10-11	105	4Q27	
17-18	106	Ensemble	89
17-18,9	105		
19 i	106, 111	4Q29 (<i>4QDeut^b</i>)	
19 i,4-9	106	13-14	144
19 ii	106		
19 ii,4	111	4Q30 (<i>4QDeut^c</i>)	
19 ii,6	105	63	144
19 ii, 8	105		
19 ii,10-40	106	4Q34 (<i>4QDeut^g</i>)	
19 ii-23	106	6-9	144
22 i	109		
22 ii,24-27	106	4Q37 (<i>4QDeutⁱ</i>)	
24,2	109	Ensemble	330
24-25 i 9	108		
25 i + 24 +		4Q48 (<i>4QJosh^b</i>)	
39 + 22 ii +		3,16	144
26 + 50 + 27	108		
25 i-ii	111	4Q50	
25 ii +		Ensemble	145
28-31,14	105		
25 ii + 28-31		4Q51 (<i>4QSam^a</i>)	
+ 32	111	Ensemble	144ss
25 ii 1	111	1,11	328
25 ii,28-32	106	1,22	328
26	109	10,3-4	473-479; 480
26,3-4	108		(= IX,2-3)

I b 5-6	558	6-7 1-2	570
II a-d 4-6	558	6-7 2-4	570
II a-d 6-9	559	6-7 4	570
II a-d 18-19	559	6-7 7	571
II a-d 27-28	559	6-7 8-9	571
II a-d 29-36	559	10-23 6	571
II a-d 6-9	559	10-23 7-8	572
III a-e 1-5	560		
III a-e 5-6	560	4Q54 (<i>4QRois</i>)	
III a-e 9-11	561	<i>Ensemble</i>	467-472
III a-e 11-13	561	2 ii 3	469
III a-e 13-14	561	2 ii 9	469
III a-e 18-20	561	2 ii 10	469
III a-e 22-24	562		
III a-e 24-26	562	4Q54^b (<i>4QRois^b</i>)	
III a-e 26-28	562	<i>Ensemble</i>	145; 467-472
III a-e 31	563		
III a-e 32-33	563	4Q56 (<i>4QIsa^b</i>)	
III a-e 37-39	563	22-23	471
III a-e 24-26	563		
III a-e 24-26	563	4Q67 (<i>4QIsaⁿ</i>)	
V b-c 1-4	564	<i>Ensemble</i>	51; 57
V b-c 7	564		
VI a-b 1 2	564	4Q69^c (<i>4QIsa^s</i>)	
VI a-b 9-12	564	<i>Ensemble</i>	467-472
VI a-b 12-14	565		
VII a 1-2	565	4Q70-71	
VII a-b 9-11	565	<i>Ensemble</i>	150
IX a-d 3-4	565		
IX a-d 4-5	566	4Q72 (<i>4QJer^c</i>)	
IX e-i 3-4	566	2 iii 7	14
X a 2-3	566		
X a 3-4	567	4Q83 (<i>4QPs^a</i>)	
X a 4-9	567	<i>Ensemble</i>	259
X b-c 3-4	567		
3-5 2-4	567	4Q84 (<i>4QPs^b</i>)	
6 1-2	568	<i>Ensemble</i>	520
6 5-6	568		
8-10 a-b	568	4Q88 (<i>4QPs^f</i>)	
11 4-5	568	VII 14-VIII 16	437
11 6-7	568	IX	145
11 9	569		
12-14 2-3	569	4Q89 (<i>4Qps^g</i>)	
29-33 1	572	<i>Ensemble</i>	520; 522
43 3-4	572		
47 3-4	572-573	4Q95 (<i>4QPsⁿ</i>)	
		2-3	145
4Q52 (<i>4QSam^b</i>)			
4 3-4	569	4Q99-100 (<i>4QJob^{a-b}</i>)	
6-7 1	570	8,17	145

4Q109 (<i>4Qoh^a</i>)		3-4 i 2.4.6-8	333
<i>Ensemble</i>	138	3-4 i 4-5	495
		3-4 i 6-8	497
4Q112 (<i>4QDan^a</i>)		3-4 i 8-ii 1	495
<i>Ensemble</i>	149, 152	3-4 i 10	494
		3-4 ii	497
4Q113 (<i>4QDan^b</i>)		3-4 ii 1	494; 497
7 ii 13	151	3-4 ii 1-2	497
		3-4 ii 6-8	496
4Q117		3-4 ii 7-10a	272ss
<i>Ensemble</i>	156	3-4 ii 10	496
		3-4 ii 10-iii 1	497
4Q158 (<i>4QRP^a</i>)		3-4 iii 1	495
<i>Ensemble</i>	260; 298	3-4 iii 1-2	594
		3-4 iii 5	273
4Q159 (<i>4QOrd^a</i>)		3-4 iii 8-iv 4	498
<i>Ensemble</i>	260	3-4 iv 1	273; 498
2-4 1-3	294	5 2	495
		9-10	494
4Q160 (<i>4QVisSam</i>)			
3-4 ii 3	13	4Q171 (<i>4QpPs^a</i>)	
		<i>Ensemble</i>	493
4Q161		1-10 II,18	447
<i>Ensemble</i>	429	1-10 IV 16.18	414; 600
2-6 26	417		
8-10 3	495	4Q174 (<i>4QFlor/4QMidrEschar^a</i>)	
		<i>Ensemble</i>	257-305; 552
4Q161-165		1,1	291
<i>Ensemble</i>	429	1,1-6a	294
		1-2 I 15	534
4Q162 (<i>4QpIsa^b</i>)		1-2 I 16	534
<i>Ensemble</i>	429	1-3 ii 3	534
II 6-8	429	1,3	293
II 7	533	1,1-13	286; 290
		1,2b-6a	292
4Q163 (<i>4QpIsa^c</i>)		1,3-4	288ss
<i>Ensemble</i>	259	1,3-6	286
8-10,8	534	1,4	289ss; 295
		1,5-6a	286
4Q166		1,5b-6a	294
II 6	411	1,6b-7a	294
		1,7b-9	295
4Q167 (<i>4QpHos^b</i>)		1,10-13	295
<i>Ensemble</i>	259	1-2 i 2-7	435
		1-2 10-13	436
4Q169 (<i>4QpNah</i>)		2 i 1-2	13
<i>Ensemble</i>	95, 259ss, 257-305; 430; 483; 490; 493-499	2,14	249
1-2	494	4Q175 (<i>4QTestimonia</i>)	
		<i>Ensemble</i>	259; 535

1-8	529	1 iii 9	378
9-13	530	1 iv 2	374
14-20	530	1 iv 6	382
21-30	94; 431; 530	1,4	153
27	657	II,12	153
4Q176 (4QTanhumîm)		4Q202	
<i>Ensemble</i>	428	1 i 27	376
		1 ii 19	374
4Q177 (4QMidrEschat ^b)		1 ii 26	378
<i>Ensemble</i>	285	1 iii 1	376
		1 iii 13	382
2 4	602		
7,3	534	4Q203 (4QEnGiants ^a ar <i>Livre des</i>	
9,13-14	173	<i>Géants</i>)	
11,6	657	<i>Ensemble</i>	113
11,15-16	436	8,4	130; 542
12-13 15-16	436	8,13	130
		14,4	151
4Q179		4Q204 (4QEn ^c ar)	
<i>Ensemble</i>	428	<i>Ensemble</i>	125
4Q180		1 ii 26	378
<i>Ensemble</i>	18	1 vi 28	153
5-6 4	428	5 i 24	152
		7,2	455
4Q181		4Q205 (4QEn ^d ar)	
<i>Ensemble</i>	18	<i>Ensemble</i>	152
1 4-5	271		
4Q182		4Q206 (4QEn ^e ar)	
1,4	534	1 xxii 2.3.5	150
4Q184		1 xxii 5	382
<i>Ensemble</i>	621-633	1 xxvii 11	150
1 2.13.15	415	2-3	113
		2 ii 2	153
4Q186		2 ii 6	153
<i>Ensemble</i>	190, 271	3 i 5	60
		4 ii 13	150
4Q196		iii 16	150
2,2	150	4Q208	
4Q197		<i>Ensemble</i>	373
4 i 18	152	4Q208-209	
4Q201 (4QEn ^a ar)		<i>Ensemble</i>	487
<i>Ensemble</i>	148ss	4Q208-211 (4QEnastr ar)	
iv 3	148	<i>Ensemble</i>	133-136; 542
1 ii 12	151		

4Q209

<i>Ensemble</i>	133-136; 326;
	373
23	135
25,3	135
26	133
26,7	135
27,3	135

4Q210 (*4QEnastr^c*)

<i>Ensemble</i>	152
1 iii,3-5	134
1iii,8	134

4Q212

<i>Ensemble</i>	149
Iii 18-21	544
iii 25	150
1 ii 19	150
1 iv 19	317
iv 13	150
v 17.18.21.22	150

4Q213

<i>Ensemble</i>	545
1 i 13	309

4Q213a

<i>Ensemble</i>	545
3,15	150
3,16	149

4Q214

<i>Ensemble</i>	545
2	546

4Q214a

<i>Ensemble</i>	545
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4Q214b

<i>Ensemble</i>	545
2-6 i	546

4Q220

1 9	412
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4Q222

1 3	414
3	163
3 2-3	172

4Q225

1 3	164
1 3-4	167
2 i 9-10	164
ii 5-7	164

4Q228

1 I 9	538
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4Q234

<i>Ensemble</i>	90
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4Q242

<i>Ensemble</i>	149
1-3 2.6	417

4Q243-245 (*4QPsDan ar*)

<i>Ensemble</i>	38; 539; 556
1 2	147
1 i 10	92
21 2	93

4Q246

<i>Ensemble</i>	149; 151; 556
1 ii 1	151
1 ii 6	151
1 ii 7	154

4Q248

<i>Ensemble</i>	93
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4Q249

<i>Ensemble</i>	533
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4Q251

<i>Ensemble</i>	329; 478
1-2,4	54
1-2,5	54
1-2,6	54

4Q252 (*4QCommGen A*)

<i>Ensemble</i>	328
i 20-ii 1	291
iv 2	477ss
v 2	657

4Q256 (*4QS^b*)

<i>Ensemble</i>	219
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4Q258 (*4QS^d*)

<i>Ensemble</i>	219 ; 528
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4Q259 (<i>4QS^e</i>)		VI,11b-VII,4a	266
<i>Ensemble</i>	199 ; 219 ; 528	VI,12-14	534
1,4	204	VI,14	212
1,6	207	VI,15-16	269
1,13	204	VI,19	266
		VI,20-VII,3	262; 266; 268;
			301ss
4Q261 (<i>4QS^g</i>)			
<i>Ensemble</i>	199	VI,20b	266
3,2b	213	VI,21	302
3,3	205	VI-VII	274; 301; 305
3,6	207	VII,2b-3a	266
		VII,3-4	240ss
4Q264a		VII,12-13	259
1 i 6	46	VII,14-19	553ss
1 i 7	49ss; 54	VII,15	533
		VIII,2	164
4Q265		VIII,9	534
<i>Ensemble</i>	200ss; 205; 329	VIII,16	249
1,3	534	IX,1	305
6,2.4.5.7.8	54	IX,2-4	266
6,4-5	54	IX,4	296
		IX,5	266
CD (<i>Document de Damas; Zadokite</i>		IX,6	305
<i>Fragments; Cairo Damascus Cove-</i>		IX,7-8	534
<i>nant</i>)		IX,16-X,2	305
<i>Ensemble</i>	22, 32, 38, 49, 56,	X,6	208; 534
	58ss, 96, 99, 156,	X,14-17	44
	257-305; 329ss;	X,17	45; 54; 60
	488; 492; 556;	X, 17-18	61
	605-620	X,17-19	44ss; 57; 61ss
I,21	237	X,18-19	45
III,12-VIII,20	295	X,19	46; 49ss; 57; 62
III,12-14	330; 553ss	X,20	45ss; 55ss; 60
III,15	35	X,20-21	41-62
III,19-20	13	X,21	54
III,20-21	534	X,22	54ss
IV,8	212	X,19-XI,6	42
IV,12-19	164	XI,2	47; 54ss; 61;
IV,13	534		261; 267
IV,17-V,11	283	XI,2b	267; 270
IV,19	429	XI,5	54
IV,20-V,11	211	XI,5-6	50
IV, 21	208	XI,9	54
V,2	533	XI,10	54
V, 6-8	283	XI,9-10	593
V,9-10	211	XI,11	54
V,18	164	XI,12	54; 267; 408
V,11-15	15	XI,13	54
V,21-VI,1	171	XI,14	54
VI,7	552	XI, 14-15	300

XI,14b-15a	269ss; 274	5 i 17	213
XI,15	54	7 iii	613ss
XI,17	54	8 i 6-9	265
XII,1-2	284; 434	8 i 8	278
XII,6-8	305	8 iii	43
XII,6b-8a	269ss	8 iii 5	534
XII,8b-11a	269ss	10 ii	615ss
XII,10-11	261; 268	10-11	199-227
XII,22b-XIII,4a	303	11,1-5	265
XIII,1-2	303	11,5-6	213
XIII,2	534	11,5-18	265
XIII,4-7	272	11,9-12a	265ss; 300
XIII,6	212	11,20-21	555
XIII,7-9	304	12,5-9	268; 305
XIII,11-13	265		
XIII,12	271	4Q267 (<i>4QD^b</i>)	
XIV	270ss; 273ss;	5 iii 5	533
	301ss; 305	8	613ss
XIV,1	259	9 vi	200, 209ss
XIV,3-6	264; 266ss	9 v 12	534
XIV,4-6	267	9 8-10	264
XIV,5	301		
XIV,5-6	262	4Q268	
XIV,6-7	273	<i>Ensemble</i>	554
XIV,6b	265	1 5-8	330
XIV,6c-8a	265		
XIV,7	534	4Q269 (<i>4QD^d</i>)	
XIV,8-12	304	11	200, 202
XIV,11b-12a	265	11 i	200
XIV,12-17	302	11 i 5-8	201
XIV,14	296		
XIV,14-17	266	4Q270 (<i>4QD^e</i>)	
XIV,17	208	<i>Ensemble</i>	89, 205
XIV,18-23	199-227	2 ii	613ss
XV,5b-15a	265	4 13-16	268; 305
XV,9	533	6 iv 17	534
XVI,2.5	533	6 v	42ss
XVI,2b-4a	289	7	199-227 200
XVI,2-4	538	7 i	615ss
XIX,4	208	7 i 15b-16	265
XIX,29	249	7 i,19-ii,12	210
XIX,35	416	7 ii,12-15	
XX,7	46	7 ii 15	555
XX,14	416		
XX,15-16	534	4Q271	
XX,27-34	551	<i>Ensemble</i>	96
4Q266 (<i>4QD^a</i>)		3 15	600
Ensemble	43; 205; 554	5 i 2	50
1a-b 15-16	552	5 17-18	434

4Q273			4Q333	
2 1	533		<i>Ensemble</i>	95
4Q274			4Q337	
2 i 2	54		<i>Ensemble</i>	305
3 ii	85			
4Q279			4Q341	
Ensemble	257-305		<i>Ensemble</i>	90
2 2	272		4Q344-355	
3 1	272		<i>Ensemble</i>	147
3 2	272			
5 2	270		4Q348	
5 4-6	270ss		17	332
5 5	270ss			
4Q282			4Q360	
i	490		<i>Ensemble</i>	90
4Q284a			4Q364-367 (4QRP^{b-e})	
2 4	272		<i>Ensemble</i>	260; 298
4Q285			4Q365 (4QRP^c)	
8, 4	410		22a-b 2	298
			34 4	298
4Q286-290 (4QBerakhor^{a-e})			4Q366 (4QRP^d)	
4Q298			2 2	298
<i>Ensemble</i>	493		4	644
1-2 i 2	657			
4Q307			4Q372	
1,6-7	260		<i>Ensemble</i>	428ss
4Q318			4Q374	
VIII,6,9	152		2 ii 8	410
4Q319-330			4Q377	
<i>Ensemble</i>	305		<i>Ensemble</i>	260
			2 ii 5-12	171
4Q320-321			4Q378	
<i>Ensemble</i>	136 ; 477		<i>Ensemble</i>	530
4Q322a			26,3	552
1 6	95		4Q379	
4Q331			<i>Ensemble</i>	530
<i>Ensemble</i>	95		14-21 10.15	533
			22 ii 7-14	431
4Q332			22 ii 7-15	94
<i>Ensemble</i>	95		22 ii 9	602

4Q380		1,5	35ss
1 i 2-8	432	1,1-6	25
		2 i-iii,3	34
4Q382		2 ii	24
15,7	533	2 ii 3-4	33
		2 ii 3-5	35
4Q383-391		2 ii 3-11	25
<i>Ensemble</i>	539; 556	2 iii 4	36
		3	24ss
4Q384 (<i>4QapocrJer^b</i>)		3,4-6	34
<i>Ensemble</i>	22 ; 539	3,7-8	35
		fr.4	23
4Q385 (<i>4QpsEzek^a</i>)		4,2	23
<i>Ensemble</i>	17-39; 428		
2	25	4Q387a	
2,10	31	<i>Ensemble</i>	32
2-3	26		
3,6	28	4Q388	
4,3	27	<i>Ensemble</i>	25
6	26, 29	3	24
		3,2-7	25
4Q385a (<i>4QpsMoses^a</i>)		7	26
<i>Ensemble</i>	17-39	7,2-7	25
3	24ss		
3,6	35	4Q388a	
3,9-10	35	<i>Ensemble</i>	25
4	24ss	3,4-5	35
4,1-2	35	3,7	35
5	24ss	4,2	33
12,4	33		
13,3	23	4Q389	
18,7-8	19	<i>Ensemble</i>	24, 32
		1,3	25
4Q385b (<i>4QapocrJer^c</i>)		8 ii	24
<i>Ensemble</i>	17-39, 173	8 ii 1-3	25
5	23	8 ii 4-5	36
		14-21	233
4Q386			
<i>Ensemble</i>	24ss	4Q390	
1 i	26	<i>Ensemble</i>	17-39; 538
1 i 1-10	25	1	33
1 ii	30	1,5-7	33
1 ii-iii	27; 38	1,6	19
1 ii 3,6-8	27	1,8	35ss
1 ii 5-6	173	1,9	36
		1,11	36
4Q387		1-2	34
<i>Ensemble</i>	24ss; 32; 428	2	34
ii-iii	34	2 i 6-7	36
1	24	2 i 7	36

2 i 8	35	4Q416	
2 i 9	35	2 i 6	417
4Q391		2 ii 3.18	419
<i>Ensemble</i>	22ss; 30; 539	2 ii 5-6	408
		2 ii 15	408; 592
4Q392		2 ii 20	593
1, 6	657	2 iii 11	594
4Q393		2 iii 16	414; 600
3, 5	410	2 iii 21	410
4Q394-399 (4QMMT)		4Q417	
<i>Ensemble</i>	77, 93ss, 98, 159ss, 220, 229-256 , 257-305; 327; 332; 426; 489; 507-523	1 i 11-12	330
B 3-5	284	1 i 16	534
B 8-9	282; 284	2 i 11	417
B 29-31	433	2 i 19-21	419
B 29-33	284	4Q418	
B 39-49	278; 282ss; 288ss	8a,b,c,d 15	408; 592
B 47	283	69 ii 6	414
B 58-59	84	77 2	417
B 58-62	284; 433	77 4	417
B 75-82	282; 284; 289	81+81a 3	330
B 81	283	177 4	417
C 10	254	197 3	417
C 12-32	282	228 3	417
C 20	254	4Q420	
C 27	159	1a ii-b 2	417
4Q396		1a-b ii 1-3	597
II-IV,12	254	1a-b ii 13-14	597
4Q397		4Q421	
14-21 10-11	159	1 a ii b 14	417
24	159	4Q423	
4Q398		<i>Ensemble</i>	260; 488
14-17 I 2	533	5 5	298
14-21,6-7	239	4Q425	
14-21,7	230	1+3 7	602
14-21,10	252	4Q427	
4Q399		3 9	590
3	250	4Q434	
4Q415		<i>Ensemble</i>	428ss
11 1-5	407	1 i 1	
		1 i 12	414
		2 2	414

4Q434a		52+54,5+97 9 2	590
2 12-13	4Q434	10 2	599
<i>Ensemble</i>	428ss		
4Q448		4Q513	
<i>Ensemble</i>	144; 495	3-4,3	54
I 9-10	432	4Q520	
B-C	94	<i>Ensemble</i>	260
4Q460		4Q521	
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4Q482		<i>Ensemble</i>	144; 425; 428;
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5,1	150	<i>Ensemble</i>	95; 489ss; 532
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1 i 1	409	4Q525	
4Q501		2 ii 1-13	621
1 5	591	5 5-13	621ss
4Q502		14 ii 22-24	597
95 1	409	4Q529	
96 6	409	<i>Ensemble</i>	429
4Q503		1,9	151
<i>Ensemble</i>	488	1,14	150
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39 2	271	4Q530 (<i>4QEnGéants^b ar</i>)	
51-55 14	271	<i>Ensemble</i>	113-125; 148; 150;
4Q504			152; 451-466
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4Q510		2 i + 3,4	120
1 6	599	2 ii,1	150
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4Q532 (<i>4QEnGéants^d ar</i>)		<i>Ensemble</i>	150, 152
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1 i 3	153	<i>Ensemble</i>	148
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